Inside: The Essential CJ Reading List

california JOURNAL

June 2000
$3.95
a State Net Publication

The Minnies:

Awarding the best (and worst) legislators

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balance "Many environmentalists convey the simplistic and wrong impression to the public that the choice is between preservation and devastation."
- Dr. Patrick Moore, founding member of Greenpeace

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california JOURNAL

June 2000
Volume XXXI, Number 6

Upfront

Talking Points

Southern Exposure
Los Angeles' mayoral legacy
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By Susan Rasky

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By Dana Wilkie

On the Road Again

Claudia Buck

That's where you'll find Senior Editor Emelyn Rodriguez, whose insightful profile of U.S. Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi appears in this issue. Rodriguez, who came to the *California Journal* eight months ago from *The Oakland Tribune* where she was state capitol bureau chief, spent a week in Washington, D.C., interviewing Pelosi and other California congressional insiders. Rodriguez, who often travels with her husband, *Sacramento Bee* Executive Editor Rick Rodriguez, hasn't limited her journalistic horizons solely to U.S. political leaders. She's sat with Cuba's Fidel Castro in Havana and recently traveled to Mexico to meet with that country's aspiring presidential candidates. Born in the Philippines, Rodriguez brings a worldly perspective to our pages.

The Minnies

Roll out the red carpet. Every two years, we open the envelope, revealing the Legislature's best and brightest, as judged by their peers and other Capitol insiders.
By A.G. Block

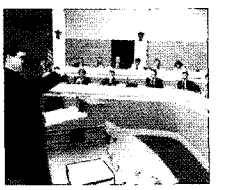
Pelosi eyes a political plum

An astute veteran of D.C. politics, California congresswoman Nancy Pelosi is aggressively pursuing the next brass ring: House whip. Can she pull it off?
By Emelyn Rodriguez

"The Hugger" becomes speaker

Assemblyman Robert Hertzberg has his arms around the job he's always wanted. Our profile takes a look at California's newest Assembly speaker.
By Steve Scott

Making the grade at "Hertzberg U."



Rookie legislators grab the ropes at Speaker Hertzberg's Assembly "boot camp."
By Kathleen Les

The Essential California Journal Reading List

They're not exactly beach books, but if you're looking for insight into the Golden State's political, economic and social history, these are your best bets.

"Personal Picks"

From bungalows to raging rivers, we offer a lively postscript to our essential reading list: a selection of California-based books that are personal favorites of CJ staffers.

Mosaic created in polymer clay by CJ Editor Cynthia H. Craft

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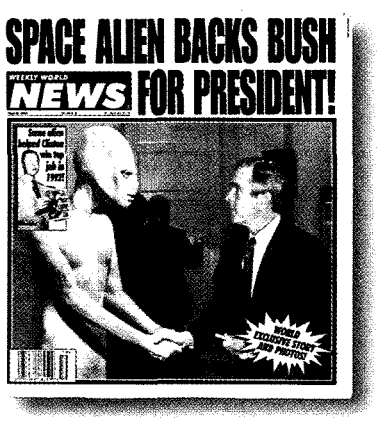
High and mighty. Ever since David Letterman started with the whole "Top 10 List" schtick, list-making has become *de rigueur*. The very magazine you are holding has two of them: the biennial state lawmaker rankings (dubbed "The Minnies") and an essential California reading list. But a Washington, D.C.-based Web site has released what is either the most ambitious, or the most pretentious, such exercise around. Over a 10-day period, www.Voter.com unveiled the "100 Most Powerful People in Politics." Names were released in lots of 10 (can Letterman sue on that?) in various categories, from the judiciary to the military to the media. Although the lists so far are short on names and addresses west of Alexandria, Virginia, there are a few familiar California names that made the cut. On the "Legal Eagle" list are L.A.-based celebrity lawyer Gloria Allred and Kathleen Sullivan, the dean of Stanford Law School. Making the list of the Top 10 lobbyists was none other than Vic Fazio, former Sacramento congressman and, several lifetimes ago, a co-founder of *California Journal*. Among the most powerful political appointees is Tony Coelho, the much-traveled former Central Valley congressman who is currently serving as Vice President Al Gore's campaign chief. Among the most politically powerful business leaders is John Doerr, Silicon Valley venture capitalist. And, of course, no list of the Top 10 elected officials in the country would be complete without the name of Gray Davis, esteemed Golden State guv. The appearance of Davis' name on the list, while hardly surprising, did carry with it an unintentionally ironic twist. The same week the list came out, Davis' press secretary, Michael Bustamante, announced he was leaving the governor's service to go to work for, you guessed it, www.Voter.com.

War of words. Things are getting a bit testy these days in Chuck Quackenbush Country. The embattled state insurance commissioner has been conducting a furious rear-guard public relations blitz since it was revealed that he "punished" miscreant insurers not by imposing fines but by directing money into what turned out to be the "Let's Publicize Chuck Quackenbush Fund." Prior to an appearance last month before a skeptical Assembly Insurance Committee, a briefing book from Quackenbush's office warned against "a political witch hunt," then aimed a curious potshot at Senate Insurance Committee chair Jackie Speier (D-Hillsborough): "I'm trying to confirm the rumor that Senator Speier actually is bucking for a guest appearance on the *Sopranos*." (For those lacking premium cable service, *The Sopranos* is a much-lauded HBO drama about organized crime.) Meowwwww! Of course, the real capper came from Quackenbush himself writing to fellow Republicans "from my garrison in Sacramento." Quackenbush's potboiler follows a time-worn plot line — he's the victim of partisan politics, being "tried, sentenced and crucified" by the Democrats and their running dogs, the dreaded liberal media. Not to mention pinkos like Assemblyman Tom McClintock (R-Simi Valley), who

The final frontier

Much of the presidential chatter here on the "Left Coast" is about how tough it will be for Texas Governor George W. Bush to win an increasingly Democratic California. But there's news that could help the certain GOP presidential nominee with the all-important Venice Beach vote — news visible to all who passed through a supermarket checkout line last month. Splashed across the front page of the *Weekly World News* was a headline to die for: "Space Alien Backs Bush for President!" Sure enough, right there on the same page, in black and white, was a "photograph" of Bush, Jr. shaking hands with a thin, naked, bubble-headed, goggle-eyed visitor from a galaxy far, far away. According to the tabloid, the alien was the same one who endorsed candidate Bill Clinton in 1992. The article on the "endorsement" is gut-splittingly funny. Bush, we are told, took a two-hour meeting with the "pale hairless being," during which the candidate was peppered with questions about international affairs and basic astronomy. The two discussed Bush's education policy as well as the possibility of trade relations with the alien's home planet. What was interesting about this "political stunner" is that it happened around the time Bush received the backing of his former GOP rival, Arizona Senator John McCain. It's probably fair to say that the McCain endorsement will mean more to Bush's presidential campaign than that of the WWN's alien. But this much is clear: the alien looked a lot more enthusiastic about standing next to Bush than McCain did.



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ripped into Quackenbush at the aforementioned hearing.

Hop on pop. Goosed by protests aimed at the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund, that old band of 1960s lefties has been given a reason to get up in the morning. So it's no surprise that Hollywood is taking a second look at the original source material. One such undertaking, scheduled for release this summer, carries with it a unique twist. "Steal This Movie!" is based on a biography (titled "Steal This Book!) of the late activist Abbie Hoffman. As you might expect, one of its characters is Tom Hayden, Hoffman's "Chicago Seven" cohort turned termed-out senator. The actor who will portray Hayden — Troy Garity — has an especially keen insight into the role. Hayden is Garity's father. That's right. The son of Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda will kill two birds with one stone, using his mom's profession as a vehicle to cinematically fill the old man's shoes. Hayden was reportedly on hand to watch his son during the re-enactment of the 1968 Chicago riots, and gave a little pep talk to the cast and crew.

Ladies' man. It was one of those committee hearings that gets campaign finance reformers in a lather. An April meeting of the Senate Finance Committee was choc-a-block with "suits", all there to weigh in on two measures dealing with how private information is handled by financial institutions. Faced with a sea of bankers, securities brokers and insurers, the committee's chair, Senator Tim Leslie (R-Tahoe City), sought to relieve some of the overcrowding in the standing-room-only hearing. Pointing to five seats up front usually reserved for legislators, Leslie told the gathered group that "the front row is available ... for five women." Leslie is way too straight laced for anyone to suggest lecherous intent — likely he was simply being courtly. Or maybe he just wanted to be able to find a spot to place his gaze that wasn't crisscrossed with pinstripes.

A very good year. The humiliation suffered by outgoing Representative Matthew "Marty" Martinez (D-El Monte) is now complete. Last month, the 18-year veteran lawmaker was clobbered in his congressional primary by state Senator Hilda Solis (D-El Monte). Now, last week, the *coup de grace*: word that the same Hilda Solis who ended his political career has been awarded the John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage Award. Solis was given the prize for calling attention to the disproportionate number of toxic waste sites located in low-income regions and for pushing legislation, signed last year by Governor Gray Davis, to address the issue. Solis is the first woman to receive the award in its 11-year history. To say it's been an eventful 2000 for Solis is an understatement.

Corrections

In our May 2000 issue ("The Strangest of Bedfellows"), we mistakenly wrote that the Native Americans & Peace Officers (NAPO) PAC had spent $40 million on elections from 1998 through February 2000. Actually, the $40 million represented the total amount of election spending by three tribes and the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, including their NAPO contributions. We apologize for the error.

We also regret the omission in our primary election issue (April 2000) of state Senate District 17, in which incumbent William J. "Pete" Knight (R-Palmdale) will face Democrat Richard Lott of Santa Clarita in November. It was an inadvertent error on our part.

"History is past politics, and politics is present history."
— E.A. Freeman

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Reader's Guide:

Bring me women to match my mountains

Astute readers of the *California Journal* will notice that, every couple of years, we trot out Minnie, more properly known as Minerva. Occasionally, we also refer to Izzy, more properly called Isabella. Less often — but with no less reverence — we mention Calafia — that's *Queen* Calafia, thank you very much.

So who are these women to whom the *Journal* owes readers a decent introduction? Let's take them one by one:

A black warrior

Queen Calafia, according to centuries-old literature, is ruler of the mythical land of gold, California. Her legend was first recorded in the early 1500s, when Spanish scribe Garci Rodriguez Ordonez de Montalvo penned the popular romance novel *"Las Sergas de Esplandian."* The story told of "an island called California, very near the Terrestrial Paradise and inhabited by black women without a single man among them and living in the manner of the Amazons." Gold was plentiful and, "Over this island of California rules a queen, Calafia, statuesque in proportions, more beautiful than all the rest...valiant and spirited, and ambitious to excel all those who have ruled before her." These days Calafia crops up now and then in books referencing our Gold Rush growth spurt.

But though we've located a full-page excerpt of *"Las Sergas de Esplandian"* chronicling the queen's debut, we can only guess as to her likeness. So, until a historically grounded image is brought to our attention, please allow us to present ... our vision of Queen Calafia.

Refined strength

Isabella is another royal matriarch — **Queen Isabella** of Spain, who financed Christopher Columbus' voyages to the New World. Where's the California angle? Square in the middle of the Capitol rotunda, where a massive knot of a statue depicting Isabella and Columbus impressively resides. Carved of *cararra* marble in Florence, Italy, many lifetimes ago by artist Larkin Goldsmith Mead, the statue was presented to the state of California in 1883 as a Christmas gift by prominent Sacramento banker D.O. Mills. In 1975, it was relocated to the state treasurer's building during the Capitol restoration project — and for a while it looked like Isabella's exit was destined to be permanent. But a good Italian mindful of the work's country of origin, former state Sena-

Quotables:

"The state reserves the right to monitor and log, without notice, all network activity including e-mail and Internet activities."

— A message that greets workers each morning when they log onto their computer monitors at the state Department of General Services.

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tor pro tempore David Roberti (D-Van Nuys), fought for its return, finally persuading persnickety historians the queen needed to come back since she was there between 1900 to 1910, the years highlighted by the restoration project. Titled "Columbus' Last Appeal," the statue shows Columbus speaking directly into the queen's ear, pleading for her support. Today, modern folklore has it that Isabella's ear picks up all the gossip in the Capitol, leading *CJ* editors at times to report lighter fare under the title, 'Isabella's Ear," or, on the Web (www.statenet.com/news/features) as just plain "Isabella."

Full-blown wisdom

Minnie, of course, is *Journal-ese* for the biennial awards we dole out to legislators in honor of **Minerva,** the goddess of wisdom who graces the state seal of California. The story of Minerva, daughter of Jupiter, is told in Bulfinch's Mythology: "She was said to have leaped forth from his brain, mature, and in complete armour. She presided over the useful and ornamental arts, both those of men—such as agriculture and navigation—and those of women – spinning, weaving, and needlework. She was also a warlike divinity; but it was defensive war only that she patronized, and she had no sympathy with Mars' savage love of violence and bloodshed."

A cool head in peace and war, combined with her miraculous birth – arriving whole and bypassing the stages of growth – were what earned Minerva a spot on the Great Seal of the State of California back in the heady days of the Gold Rush. Designed by U.S. Army Major Robert Selden Garnett, the seal was presented to the Constitutional Convention in 1849 with the pronouncement that, "The foreground figure represents the Goddess Minerva having sprung full grown .... She is introduced as a type [sic] of the political birth of the State of California without having gone through the probation of a Territory." Just as Minerva's birth was sudden and bloodless, so too, was the state of California's —and then the world rushed in.

— Compiled by California Journal editors

By the numbers

The stirring giant

16: Percent of electorate that is Hispanic in 2000

10: Percent of electorate that was Hispanic in 1990

1,000,000: Number of Hispanic voters who have registered since 1990

50: Percent of today's Hispanic voters who've registered since 1994, the year of Proposition 187

60: Percent of Hispanics polled who say they are Democrats

22: Percent of Hispanics polled who say they are Republicans

18: Percent of Hispanics polled who say they are not affiliated with either major party

47: Percent of Hispanics polled who say they are political moderates

31: Percent of Hispanics polled who say they're conservative

22: Percent of Hispanics polled who say they are liberal

Source: Los Angeles Times Field Institute Poll, released May 2000

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California Journal's *sixth biennial appraisal of the Legislature's best and brightest*

The MINNIES

By A.G. Block

California Journal's "Minnies" evolved from a question: What makes a good legislator? And who among the 120 members of the Legislature best exemplifies the ideal? To find out, editors in 1990 devised an extensive survey that asked knowledgeable Capitol insiders to score every state senator and Assembly member from 10 (best) to 1 (worst) in categories that editors felt represented essential traits — integrity, intelligence, effectiveness, energy, flexibility, conviviality and potential. The categories were designed to measure competence — or lack thereof — in Sacramento and not to assess how well a particular legislator performed in his or her district where competence is measured primarily at the ballot box.

After surveys were returned, scores were compiled to determine how each member stood in each category. Scores in the first four categories were combined to decide the best overall legislator in each house. The lawmakers who finished at the top of that initial survey in 1990 were both Democrats: Senator Bob Presley of Riverside and Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento.

The "Minnies," named after the goddess Minerva (see "Talking Points," page 6) were first unveiled in the March 1990 issue of *California Journal*. At the time, the California Legislature was a relatively stable universe where veteran members and a sprinkling of newcomers went about the business of lawmaking using varying degrees of intelligence, work habits, experience, expertise and ethical behavior. Thus, those polled for the survey had been observing and working with most lawmakers for many years and fully understood the capabilities and deficiencies of each member.

That equation no longer applies. Eight months after those first "Minnies" were announced, voters shattered the Legislature's stable little world by passing Proposition 140 and imposing term limits. By decade's end — when *Journal* editors began extensive interviews for this, the sixth "Minnie" awards — virtually no member of the Assembly had been in

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Mosaic by Cynthia H. Craft

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office for more than four years and several generations of lawmakers had passed through the Capitol. Presley and Connelly are long gone (Presley is head of the Youth and Adult Correctional Agency; Connelly is a Sacramento Superior Court judge). The only member of the 1990 Senate still serving in the Legislature is Republican Bill Leonard, who moved back to the Assembly in 1996. Twenty members of the 1990 Assembly still survive in the Legislature, primarily by getting elected to the state Senate.

Although the legislative environment has changed, the basic criteria used to determine a good legislator remain relatively the same. The best lawmakers are intelligent, honest, hardworking, influential and willing to seek solutions to problems. Over the years, we have tweaked the categories used to measure lawmakers. Integrity and intelligence endure, but "effectiveness" has been renamed "influence," while "flexibility" has been replaced with a more positive virtue: "problem-solving." "Energy" is more narrowly defined as "hardworking," while "ambition" has substituted for the vague-sounding "potential." "Conviviality" is gone altogether.

More important, we no longer employ a detailed, written and anonymous survey to determine the cream of the legislative crop. Beginning with the fifth "Minnies" in 1998, we abandoned the survey in favor of a more subjective assessment based on lengthy personal interviews with those who work closely around the Capitol and thus understand who are most adept at the business of legislating (see *CJ*, April 1998, for a more complete explanation of the change). We no longer compile detailed rankings of every member of the Legislature. Instead, we identify the one or two members from each house who earn top billing in each category, plus a smattering of those who deserve honorable mention.

We also identify those at the bottom of several critical categories — integrity, problem-solving, influence and hard work — where members control how they approach the job and thus how they are perceived. We omitted naming those at the bottom in two other categories — ambition and intelligence. In the former, it is assumed that all politicians have ambition. In the latter, a member has no control over brain power; he or she simply is or is not very bright, and to point out the lesser lights would be both pointless and cruel.

The first survey was sent to more than 1,000 lobbyists, staffers, journalists, administration officials and legislators; some 220 responded anonymously. This year, editors personally interviewed nearly 100 Capitol insiders, again representing lobbyists, legislative staff, the Capitol press corps, administration staffers and legislators themselves. All interviews were conducted "off the record" on the assumption that those interviewed would provide more candid answers.

In addition to State Net Editor-in-Chief A.G. Block, interviews for this survey were conducted by California Journal *editors Noel Brinkerhoff, Claudia Buck, Cynthia Craft, Kathleen Les, Emelyn Rodriguez and Steve Scott.*

Legislators of the Year

Senator Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga)
Senator John Burton (D-San Francisco)
Senator Steve Peace (D-El Cajon)

In 1998, *California Journal* named a "Legislator of the Year" for the first time, singling out one member whose talent, clout and accomplishments put that lawmaker at the head of the class. At the time, it proved no contest. Democrat Bill Lockyer, who had recently stepped down as president pro tempore of the Senate, was cited as "the lawmaker who brought a semblance of order to a legislative process made chaotic and unpredictable by a dysfunctional, squabbling Assembly." Lockyer was, as the *Journal* pointed out, the "perfect marriage of political junkie and political junkie's job" and his choice was "so obvious as to be no choice at all."

Two years later, the choice is not so clear-cut. Lockyer is gone, having been termed out in 1998 and subsequently elected state attorney general, but no individual lawmaker has demonstrated the same magnitude of leadership and power. Thus, the effort to identify his successor as Legislator of the Year became both intriguing and complex. During often-heated debates that covered several days and reflected interviews with a diverse group of knowledgeable sources, editors hashed through potential nominees, eventually winnowing the field of 120 legislators to a short list of three senators. There were compelling arguments made on behalf of each finalist, but ultimately no consensus was reached on a single individual.

As a result, three lawmakers, all state senators, share

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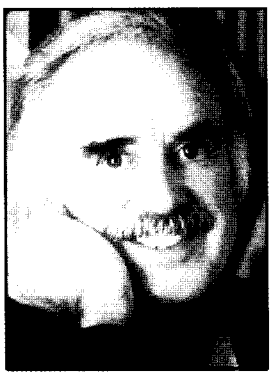
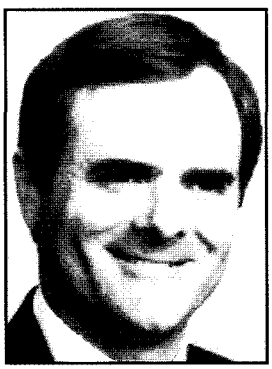
the honor: Minority Leader Jim Brulte, President pro Tempore John Burton and Budget Committee Chairman Steve Peace. In truth, the decision mirrors both the editors' dilemma and, in a broader sense, the notion that the real legislative star is the state Senate itself, as represented by an able trio of lawmakers.

As individuals, the three share several traits — high intelligence and political savvy, a relentless capacity for work, a penchant for deal-making to attack problems, and significant influence among their colleagues.

They operate, however, under very disparate circumstances. Burton holds the most powerful post in the Legislature, while Brulte leads a tiny caucus that struggles for relevancy. Peace, meanwhile, sits at the fulcrum of the Legislature's most important single work – the state budget.

Brulte


Burton


Peace

Jim Brulte entered the scene in 1994 when, as Assembly Republican leader, he rode the wave of voter discontent to engineer the first GOP legislative majority in the Assembly in two decades. Although Brulte himself was denied the speakership (see *CJ*, February 1995), his effort eventually gave his party brief control over the lower house in 1996. Elected to the Senate that same year, Brulte has been his party's chief power broker, making him a player in nearly every major deal despite representing a caucus that has only 15 of the Senate's 40 members. Two years ago, Brulte was runner-up to Lockyer as Legislator of the Year at a time when he had no official leadership post in the Senate, or even in his own caucus. Recently, he succeeded Minority Leader Ross Johnson (R-Irvine), who stepped down for family reasons.

"[Brulte is] the most creative thinker around," said one source familiar with the Republican caucus. "He picked up on the fact that [Governor Gray Davis] was giving short shrift to health care, and he went out and crafted a health package for the Republicans that filled the void and jammed the Democrats at the same time."

John Burton, on the other hand, wields enormous institutional power as the elected leader of the Legislature's dominant house. More than that, however, Burton maintains a unique stature based on the fact that the 68-year-old lawmaker has been around longer and knows more about how the Capitol operates than anyone else. He came to the Legislature in 1964 as an assemblyman from San Francisco, served for a decade, then captured a seat in U.S. House of Representatives. He spent four terms in Congress before personal problems caused him to bow out of elective politics. He remained on the sidelines until 1988 when he returned to the Assembly. Elected to the Senate in 1996, he became pro tempore two years later.

At the time, critics thought Burton an odd choice, a borderline buffoon who once introduced a bill to outlaw poverty. But he has silenced those critics by rising to the challenge and adeptly handling his house.

In many ways, Burton is a throwback, not because of his experience but because he has been able to retain power and still not compromise his traditionally liberal view of the world. Burton has gained enormous stature by reminding others — notably Governor Gray Davis — what it means to be a Democrat at a time when the governor and other party leaders slavishly hew to the middle of the road.

Interviewees said Burton was to be lauded for being the only legislator willing to hold Davis' feet to the fire. "[Burton] is trying to do right by some of the least among us," said one source. "There's a sense that he's not wielding or exercising power for the sake of power itself; the things he's trying to do have a real purpose behind them."

And then there is Steve Peace, the peripatetic and often-abrasive chairman of the Senate Budget Committee. Peace, who also chairs the Joint Legislative Budget Committee, brings to the table a body of work that nearly overwhelms the legislative accomplishments of every other lawmaker in terms of complexity and import. Few people fancy Peace because of his in-your-face demeanor, but nearly everyone respects his ability. The toughest issues are turned over to Peace for resolution, almost by default. Workers' compensation reform, electricity deregulation, privacy, local-government finance reform, the state's infrastructure bank, hospital oversight — all are issues that have landed on Peace's plate in the past few years. That's in addition to the 1999-2000 and 2000-2001 budgets.

Peace, too, began his legislative sojourn in the Assembly. A filmmaker ("Attack of the Killer Tomatoes") and businessman elected in 1982, he was an early favorite of then-Speaker Willie Brown Jr. until he conspired with four other Democrats — the so-called "Gang of Five" — to attempt a coup against Brown in 1988 (see *CJ*, March 1988). After a period of banishment, Peace reconciled with Brown, eventually chairing one of the Assembly's juicier committees — Banking, Finance and Bonded Indebtedness. He was elected to the Senate in 1993.

"He is relentless," said one source. "He tends to take on a crusade in each session, and he won't let go until there is a resolution. And he's always at the center of it."

Others in the elite:

Senator Deirdre Alpert (D-San Diego), Assemblywoman Carole Migden (D-San Francisco), Assembly Speaker Bob Hertzberg (D-Los Angeles), Senator Pat Johnston (D-Stockton), Assemblywoman Sheila Kuehl (D-Los Angeles)

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Rookie of the Year

Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento)

Term limits warped the universe for first-term legislators. Not long ago, rookies had the luxury of time and the guidance of experienced mentors to lead them along the path to becoming productive lawmakers. But that was before 1990 when voters imposed term limits by approving Proposition 140.

Now, each freshman must arrive in Sacramento with some notion of what he or she wants to achieve and, more importantly, how to accomplish that agenda in a relatively brief career. And each must comprehend almost at once how the process — and how the Capitol building — operates. Each must quickly absorb a rudimentary feel for such complex issues as education, transportation, health care, tax policy, local government finance, the state budget, workers' compensation, prison reform, water policy, e-commerce, *ad nauseum*. And each must discover, often through trial and error, who among his or her colleagues may be trusted. For rookies, legislating has become a labyrinth papered with nuance and spiked with shell games and hidden agendas.

Steinberg

Thus, determining a rookie-of-the-year for the entire Legislature is a matter of judging who has generated an immediate impact and a notable performance among the 32 rookies (29 in the Assembly, three in the Senate). Nearly all of the 100 people interviewed for the 2000 Minnie awards singled out one candidate: Democrat Darrell Steinberg of Sacramento.

A former city councilman who succeeded Democrat Phil Isenberg in 1998, Steinberg was cited as bright, diligent, hardworking and thoughtful. "The full package," according to one longtime Capitol staffer.

The 40-year-old lawmaker is regarded as a consensus-builder who appreciates diverse views and is willing to amend a bill when confronted with a compelling argument. His often-mentioned accomplishments include extensive hearings on mental health, teacher quality and low-performance schools. He also is the only freshman to surface among the top five candidates in several Minnie categories: intelligence, problem-solving and integrity.

Finally, Steinberg has displayed a willingness to take political risks outside his legislative bailiwick. For instance, he spearheaded efforts to create a "unity center" in Sacramento in the wake of synagogue bombings last year. And he recently assumed a very public role in bringing warring sides together to avert a teachers' strike in the troubled Sacramento City Unified School District. As a legislator, he had no official standing in the dispute other than that of concerned constituent and parent, but he had the stature and savvy to help broker a deal.

Some observers see a mixed future for Steinberg, his fast start as a legislator notwithstanding. Despite a pragmatic approach to legislation, he is regarded as very liberal, a leftish tag that could hinder him in an era where "moderate" is the Democratic mantra. He also is seen as perhaps too quiet — a personality trait that some veterans feel could cut him out of important action by those more aggressive at self-promotion.

Also on the fast track:

Joe Dunn (D-Santa Ana), Dean Florez (D-Shafter), Gloria Romero (D-Los Angeles), Herb Wesson (D-Los Angeles).

1998 Rookie of the Year:

Carole Migden (D-San Francisco): Candidate for a third and final Assembly term in 2000.

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INTEGRITY

Every member assumes that he or she has integrity, but the larger world may view them quite differently. Which members are true to their word? Who has a moral center, a value system, a sense of personal ethics that permeates his or her every action? Which members are genuinely respected, even by those who disagree with their political philosophy? And which members are seen as having hidden agendas and are not to be trusted?

SENATE

Deirdre "Dede" Alpert (D-Coronado)

Beginning with her election to the Assembly in 1990, Dede Alpert has consistently won as a Democrat in districts that, on paper, seemed to favor Republicans. In each of her four elections, she has steadfastly maintained her Democratic identity and the respect of voters. Her conduct as chair of Revenue and Taxation and on the Education and Appropriations committees has earned her prior accolades as one of the Legislature's best.

Alpert

"She is somebody you can always trust. She will always be straight. You never have to worry that there is a second agenda going on."

"People feel like she's there because she wants to make a difference. She's somebody who gets credit for being open-minded and trying to arrive at compromises."

"When she chaired the Senate Revenue and Tax Committee, she...would kill every bill and (yet) everyone would thank her, she's so gracious about it."

Kuehl

Other golden rulers:

Pat Johnston (D-Stockton), Charles Poochigian (R-Fresno), Byron Sher (D-Palo Alto), John Vasconcellos (D-San Jose).

Less than a Boy Scout:

Jim Costa (D-Fresno), Pete Knight (R-Palmdale), Kevin Murray (D-Los Angeles), Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles).

1998 winner:

Jack O'Connell (D-Santa Barbara).

ASSEMBLY

Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica)

A repeat winner from 1998, Sheila Kuehl is regarded as being iron-clad both to her principles and to her word. The Legislature's first openly gay member, Kuehl is best known outside legislative circles as the actress who played Zelda Gilroy in the 1950s comedy series "The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis." Although termed out of the Assembly this year, Kuehl is virtually assured of winning a seat in the Senate in November — thanks to her recent impressive primary victory over Democrat Wally Knox.

"She's been chair of several high-profile committees, and I've never heard anybody say she's got caught retracting commitments."

"She is willing to take strong stands on issues she believes in, but she is also willing to listen to those who disagree and take those comments to heart."

"When she speaks on an issue, it's from her heart and people listen. Even without her having any real leadership standing, people listen."

Other golden rulers:

Dion Aroner (D-Berkeley), Bill Campbell (R-Villa Park), Bill Leonard (R-Redlands), Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento).

Less than a Boy Scout:

Tom Calderon (D-Montebello), Tony Cardenas (D-Sylmar), Brett Granlund (R-Yucaipa).

1998 winner:

Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica).

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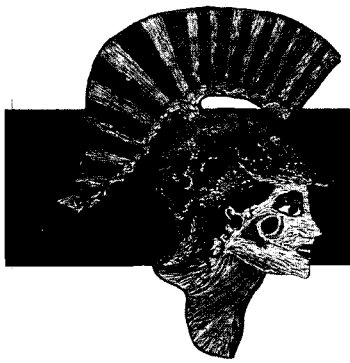


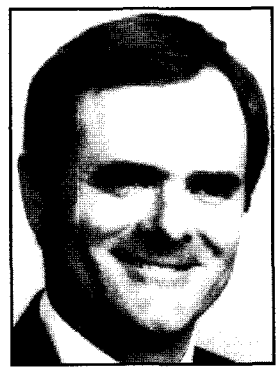
INTELLIGENCE

This means raw brain power: Who has it? Who are the most intelligent members, regardless of how that intelligence is used?

SENATE

Steve Peace (D-El Cajon)

The notion that the brain that brought to life the cult film "Attack of the Killer Tomatoes" also would harbor the Senate's foremost intelligence is, of itself, mind-boggling. But Steve Peace was universally cited for having the brainpower and political savvy to successfully tackle the Legislature's knottiest problems — electricity deregulation, local government finance, workers' compensation reform, infrastructure, water, banking, the budget. First elected to the Assembly in 1982, then to the Senate in 1993, Peace is termed out of the upper house in 2002. He could seek one additional term in the Assembly but is said to be contemplating a run for statewide office.



Peace

"He has this extreme, rare ability to think abstractly. He can think in ... conceptual terms, surveying the California landscape and think about what these things mean in terms of the future."

"He works bills that no one else will touch, like infrastructure, and masters them."

"He will understand the arguments and solutions better than anyone else, and no one else is smart enough to counter him."

Others with serious wattage:

Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga), John Burton (D-San Francisco), Pat Johnston (D-Stockton), Byron Sher (D-Palo Alto).

1998 winners:

Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga): Running for second term in 2000.

Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco): Termed out in 1998.

Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward): Elected state attorney general in 1998.

ASSEMBLY

Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica)

Two years ago, when Sheila Kuehl was singled out as having more sheer smarts than anyone in the Assembly, the rap on the actress-turned-law-professor centered on her ability to convert that brain power into political advantage. She put that issue to rest in March by dispatching a formidable Democratic colleague in a state Senate primary. Kuehl likely will display her acumen in the Senate come 2001.

Kuehl

"She grasps issues ... even better than those of us who should know them better than she does. She describes herself as a real person, and she knows what she doesn't know — which is important to legislators."

"She has a detailed understanding of just about anything in three minutes."

"She is able to think a whole range of policy issues with intelligence and move between them easily and get to the core of [each issue]."

"A real, active intelligence. It's visceral as well as erudite. She has an emotional intelligence that fits in with her feminism. She acts intelligently all the time."

Others with serious wattage:

Bob Hertzberg (D-Sherman Oaks), Tom McClintock (R-Northridge), Carole Migden (D-San Francisco), Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento).

1998 winner:

Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica).

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Problem-solving

The business of legislating — in a sense, the business of a democratic form of government — is solving problems by reaching consensus among those who approach a particular problem differently. Which members are noted for bringing diverse sides together to find common ground? Who works to build bridges between warring factions and/or special interests? Who seeks compromise? And conversely, which members are so rigid and uncompromising that they obstruct the business of law-making?

SENATE

Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga)

Because Democrats hold the governorship and huge majorities in both houses of the Legislature, one could argue that Republicans are nothing more than an afterthought when it comes to solving problems around the Capitol. But Democrats often squabble among themselves, providing Minority Leader Jim Brulte an opportunity to showcase his considerable skills as a deal-maker. As a result, it is commonly understood that Brulte is not just the Republicans' go-to guy but, in many ways, the *Legislature's* go-to guy. Brulte, who breathes politics the way others breathe air, is running for his final term in the Legislature.

"He will tell you he is going to vote against you, and also give you advice and ultimately try to solve the problem."

"He cuts across all categories and stands out. He sees his role as a pragmatist, a real problem-solver."

"He doesn't suffer fools. He's a wise man with peripheral vision. He sees the bigger picture."

Brulte

Hertzberg

Other bridge-builders:

Deirdre Alpert (D-San Diego), John Burton (D-San Francisco), Pat Johnston (D-Stockton), Steve Peace (D-El Cajon).

Obstructionists:

Tom Hayden (D-Los Angeles), Ray Haynes (R-Murieta), Richard Mountjoy (R-Monrovia), John Vasconcellos (D-San Jose)

1998 winners:

Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga).

Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward): Elected state attorney general in 1998.

ASSEMBLY

Bob Hertzberg (D-Sherman Oaks)

The speaker of the Assembly ought to be in the catbird seat for solving problems, but Bob Hertzberg seems to be a human divining rod when it comes to finding the middle ground. Part of his skill derives from the fact that he personally straddles several diverse constituencies and knows how to pull them together to attack common problems. But Hertzberg also represents the downside of problem-solving — the widely held perception that he will sacrifice substance and principle to get a deal done.

"His hallmark is to take disparate ends of a problem and find a middle ground. He's a process guy, but toward a specific end."

"He's always behind the scenes trying to get the parties to agree and compromise. He's always pushing, trying to get an agreement so that when it's brought up in the Assembly, it's already a fait accompli."

"He seems to genuinely care that everybody's agenda gets satisfied, and he will break his pick trying."

Other bridge-builders:

Scott Baugh (R-Newport Beach), Carole Migden (D-San Francisco), Antonio Villaraigosa (D-Los Angeles), Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento).

Obstructionists:

Steve Baldwin (R-El Cajon), Dick Floyd (D-Wilmington), Tom McClintock (R-Northridge).

1998 winner:

Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove): Defeated for state treasurer in 1998.

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HARDWORKING

One complaint often heard around the Capitol is that too few legislators do most of the meaningful work. But many members work hard, even though they may spin their wheels when it comes to maintaining a successful legislative agenda. Others spend much of their time catering to constituents or "working the district," efforts often invisible within the Capitol. Who are those who work hard inside the building, regardless of their cause? And which members have virtually checked out, leaving the heavy lifting to their more industrious colleagues?

SENATE

Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga)
Steve Peace (D-El Cajon)

Jim Brulte and Steve Peace provide a study in contrasts. Brulte appears calm, easy-going; Peace is a perpetual-motion machine. But both lawmakers are totally consumed by work and each drives himself at a pace seen as relentless, even in a building populated by more than a few overachievers.

"[Brulte] is the Legislature's all-night convenience store. He lives in his office. He's there 24 hours a day."

"There's a joke around the Capitol that you haven't really lived until you've spent a weekend in a room with Steve Peace, negotiating a bill."

Others on the treadmill:

Deirdre Alpert (D-San Diego), John Burton (D-San Francisco), Pat Johnston (D-Stockton), Jackie Speier (D-Hillsborough).

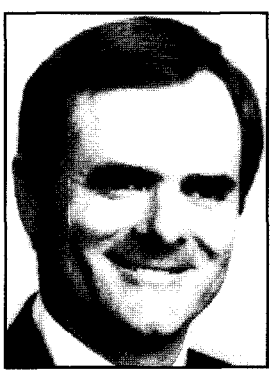
Chaise-lounge crowd:

Pete Knight (R-Palmdale), John Lewis (R-Orange), Richard Mountjoy (R-Monrovia).

1998 winner:

Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward): Elected state attorney general in 1998.

Brulte



Peace

Hertzberg

ASSEMBLY

Bob Hertzberg (D-Sherman Oaks)

Capitol observers marvel at Bob Hertzberg's irrepressible, nonstop pace. He seems to be everywhere, meddling in every issue, hand-holding every member, rolling up his sleeves at every gathering where a deal is on the table. If anything slows him down, it is the fact that God did not create a 26-hour day.

"He's a nonstop machine on both policy issues and dealing with members. I think he expects all the members to work as hard as he does, which will make for a lot fewer golf games."

"He got where he is with a lot of hustle and a lot of hard work. It's as much elbow grease as it is charm."

Others on the treadmill:

Dion Aroner (D-Berkeley), Carole Migden (D-San Francisco), Sheila Kuehl (D-Los Angeles), Tom McClintock (R-Northridge).

Chaise-lounge crowd:

Dick Floyd (D-Wilmington), Brett Granlund (R-Yucaipa), Sally Havice (D-Cerritos).

1998 winner:

Carole Migden (D-San Francisco): Candidate for a third and final term in 2000.

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INFLUENCE

Influence inside the Capitol is accumulated in many ways. Some members, such as those in leadership, come by it naturally because they hold institutional power. Others command attention because they have smarts, institutional knowledge or ethical stature, or because they develop expertise in a specific issue, such as health care or education. Others wield influence because of their ability to raise and dispense enormous amounts of campaign cash.

Who are the most influential members? And, conversely, which members have virtually no clout at all?

SENATE

John Burton (D-San Francisco)
Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga)

In this era of term limits, when even Capitol veterans have trouble identifying the various members of the Assembly, the most important legislative post has become the Senate's president pro tempore. All roads to legislative success flow through this office, giving its occupant — John Burton — enormous influence over every pivotal bill. But Burton shares the top spot with newly installed Minority Leader Jim Brulte, who, by virtue of smarts, energy and chutzpah, has positioned himself, if not his caucus, as one of the two most significant players in his house.

"If you have an important issue and you want to get anything accomplished with it, you have to go through Burton — and that goes for the entire Legislature."

"[Brulte] is the major domo of Republicans and orchestrates lots of plays on behalf of the GOP. He makes the deals and delivers his caucus."

Others who turn heads:

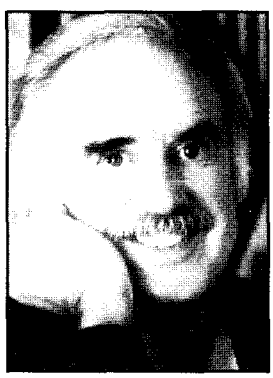
Pat Johnston (D-Stockton), Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles).

The great ignored:

Pete Knight (R-Palmdale), Richard Mountjoy (R-Monrovia).

1998 winner:

Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward): Elected state attorney general in 1998.



Burton

Brulte

Hertzberg

ASSEMBLY

Bob Hertzberg (D-Sherman Oaks)

When it came time to consider a successor to Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa, there was no second or third choice. It was Hertzberg, Hertzberg and Hertzberg. Even before he assumed the speakership in April, members sought him out because they trusted his judgment and because he had taken the time to develop a personal relationship with just about every member of the Legislature.

"Because he was able to pull off the speakership as smoothly as he did certainly speaks to the fact that he is able to marshal a lot of respect from his members."

"He's doing the most important thing – rebuilding the institutional capacity of the Assembly by dealing with fallout from the term-limits initiative. If he's successful, it will have far-reaching implications, more than any single bill."

Others who turn heads:

Scott Baugh (R-Newport Beach), Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica), Carole Migden (D-San Francisco).

The great ignored:

Audie Bock (I-Oakland), Dick Floyd (D-Wilmington), Peter Frusetta (R-San Dimas), Sally Havice (D-Cerritos).

1998 winner:

Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove): defeated for state treasurer in 1998, currently out of office.

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AMBITION

In a universe where ambition is a given, who wears this trait on his or her sleeve? In this case, the focus is on those perceived as overly preoccupied with the accumulation of power or the advancement of their own careers.

SENATE

Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles)

Polanco's name has become nearly synonymous with "ambition." Most Capitol observers believe that his visibility, persistence and energies are devoted almost solely to the accumulation of power.

"With [Polanco], there's always this sense that when you look at his bills, it's difficult to find the philosophy behind them, except for the affiliation they bring with certain groups."

"He's always at the center of something that could be politically advantageous for him."

Other fire-in-the-bellies:

Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga), Steve Peace (D-San Diego), Don Perata (D-Oakland), Jackie Speier (D-Hillsborough)

1998 winner:

Richard Polanco

Polanco

Hertzberg

ASSEMBLY

Bob Hertzberg (D-Los Angeles)

When he was heir-apparent to the speakership, Bob Hertzberg was so eager for power that he occasionally challenged the speaker — Antonio Villaraigosa — in open caucus meetings, forcing his colleagues to choose between the two. At the time, Hertzberg and Villaraigosa were roommates during the legislative week. The resulting friction between these two old allies has not completely disappeared.

"Any guy who tried to shove his own roommate out of the office before he was ready gets points for having a lot of ambition."

"He understands how to acquire, utilize and exercise power, and that proves immensely useful in an otherwise discordant place."

Other fire-in-the-bellies:

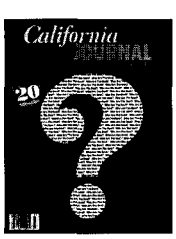
Tony Cardenas (D-Sylmar), Tom Calderon (D-Montebello), Kevin Shelley (D-San Francisco), Antonio Villaraigosa (D-Los Angeles).

1998 winner:

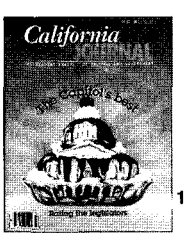
Don Perata (D-Oakland): Elected to the state Senate in 1998.

THE MINNIES: *A TIMELINE*

For a decade now, the Minnies have been a *California Journal* tradition as these covers illustrate.



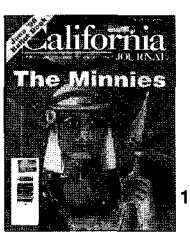
1990



1992

1994

1996



1998

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Past Years' Minnies

SENATE AWARD-WINNERS

Overall
1990: Bob Presley (D-Riverside)
1992: Pat Johnston (D-Stockton)
1994: Pat Johnston (D-Stockton)
1996: Tom Campbell (R-Palo Alto)
1998: Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward)

Intelligence
1990: Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco)
1992: Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco)
1994: Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco)
1996: Tom Campbell (R-Palo Alto)
1998: Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga)
Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco)
Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward)

Integrity
1990: Gary Hart (D-Santa Barbara)
1992: Gary Hart (D-Santa Barbara)
1994: Gary Hart (D-Santa Barbara)
1996: Tom Campbell (R-Palo Alto)
1998: Jack O'Connell (D-Santa Barbara)

Hard-working
1990: Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco)
1992: Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco)
1994: Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco)
1996: Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward)
1998: Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward)

Problem-solving (flexibility)
1990: Ken Maddy (R-Fresno)
1992: Ken Maddy (R-Fresno)
1994: Pat Johnston (D-Stockton)
1996: Tom Campbell (R-Palo Alto)
1998: Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga)
Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward)

Influence
1990: David Roberti (D-Los Angeles)
1992: David Roberti (D-Los Angeles)
1994: David Roberti (D-Los Angeles)
1996: Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward)
1998: Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward)

Ambition
1998: Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles)

ASSEMBLY AWARD-WINNERS

Overall
1990: Lloyd Connelly (D-Sacramento)
1992: Phil Isenberg (D-Sacramento)
1994: Phil Isenberg (D-Sacramento)
1996: Jim Rogan (R-Glendale)

Intelligence
1990: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1992: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1994: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1996: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1998: Sheila Kuehl (D-Los Angeles)

Integrity
1990: Lloyd Connelly (D-Sacramento)
1992: Lloyd Connelly (D-Sacramento)
1994: Phil Isenberg (D-Sacramento)
1996: Jim Rogan (R-Glendale)
1998: Sheila Kuehl (D-Los Angeles)

Hard-working
1990: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1992: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1994: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1996: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1998: Carole Migden (D-San Francisco

Problem-solving
1990: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1992: Phil Isenberg (D-Sacramento)
1994: Phil Isenberg (D-Sacramento)
1996: Willie Brown (D-San Francisco)
1998: Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove)

Influence
1990: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1992: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1994: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1996: Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco)
1998: Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove)

Ambition
1998: Don Perata (D-Oakland)

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Pelosi poised to pluck a political plum

With more than a dozen years in D.C. under her belt, San Francisco's Nancy Pelosi is staging an aggressive campaign for House majority whip, which would make her the highest-ranking Californian in Congress. But first, she's intent on Democrats winning back the House in November.

By Emelyn Rodriguez

It was a departure from the typical political deal, not a hardball, twist-arm transaction but a heart-felt discussion between two friends over lunch at a charming, touristy restaurant in San Francisco International Airport.

U.S. Representative Nancy Pelosi was fishing for an answer from former colleague Jane Harman, who gave up her seat in Congress two years ago for an unsuccessful run for California governor. Would Harman help Democrats regain their majority in the U.S. House of Representatives (they need to seize six seats) by running for her old spot?

"She told me, 'This is a very personal decision for you,'" Harman recalled. "'Look deep in your heart and whatever your answer is, I will support you.'"

Turns out, it was just the right approach. Only Pelosi, Harman said, could have framed the issue so much on target as to tweak the picture into sharp, clear focus.

"It played a major role in my decision," said Harman, who is expected to mount a stiff challenge in November against incumbent Republican Steve Kuykendall of Rancho Palos Verdes. "It was then I acknowledged that the deepest part of me is addicted to public policy. Her approach served a major role in me sorting that out. That realization outweighed personal reservations I had and got me back to this blood sport."

If Harman wins, Pelosi will be a notch closer to her own political payday. The 60-year-old, seven-term congresswoman is vying to become majority whip, the No. 3 position in the House, and

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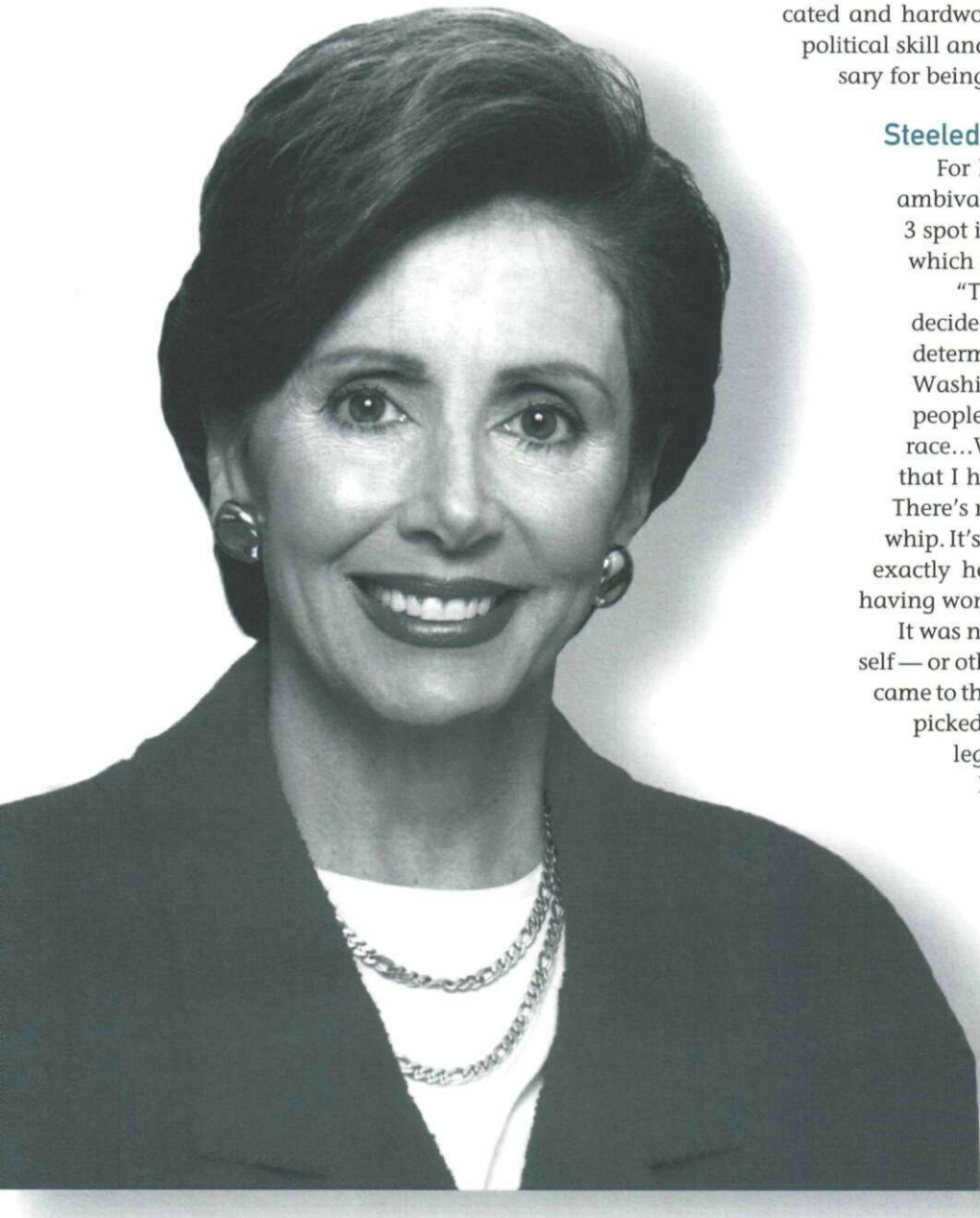
in the process become the highest-ranking and most politically potent woman in congressional history.

Harman's anecdote clearly illustrates some of the reasons why Pelosi has vaulted to the A-list of potential Democratic leaders. She is persuasive, principled, persistent and highly partisan — qualities that are important for a whip, whose duty is to count and deliver votes. Yet she has dead-on instincts (political and otherwise), an uncanny knack for saying just the right thing at just the right time and an unusual talent as a deal-maker.

"Her influence is so subtle. She's so convincing, so articulate on issues that you find yourself all of a sudden going along with her perspective," said San Francisco Supervisor Michael Yaki, a district chief of staff for Pelosi from 1989-1996.

And, of course, it doesn't hurt that Pelosi is a fastidious, almost fanatical fund-raiser for her fellow Democrats.



Operating from one of the safest Democratic districts in the country, Pelosi has been able to use her resources to help other candidates in less-friendly districts. In the process, she has collected a mounting number of political chits. In fact, the $557,000 she gave to other House candidates from early 1999 through February 2000 was more than the combined total of all others who gave in the House Democratic Caucus. Moreover, she has raked in another $1.1 million for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee to further support Democratic House candidates.

If Pelosi succeeds in her quest for a leadership spot, it will be both a milestone for women and a huge advantage for California, said state Senate President pro Tempore John Burton (D-San Francisco).

"She would be a tremendous asset to the Democratic leadership because she brings qualities that are important to representing a diverse and ethnically varied constituency," Burton said. "She should win. She is tireless, dedicated and hardworking. She brings tremendous energy, political skill and fund-raising ability, which are necessary for being whip."

Steeled to win

For her own part, Pelosi is neither shy nor ambivalent about her decision to run for the No. 3 spot if her party gains control of the House, which she believes is highly possible.

"The minute I decided to enter the race, I decided to win," Pelosi said with a look of steely determination during a recent interview in her Washington, D.C. office. "I wasn't going to ask people to support me and do a half-hearted race...What I like about it is it's a power game that I have to play and win on my own right. There's nobody who can say we'll make Nancy whip. It's a power struggle all the way. And that's exactly how I would want to go into office — having won it in my own right."

It was not something Pelosi envisioned for herself — or others envisioned for her — when she first came to the House of Representatives as the handpicked successor of Sala Burton, widow of legendary San Francisco Congressman Phillip Burton, a labor Democrat who in 1976 missed becoming House speaker by one vote.

It was late 1986, when Sala Burton, on her deathbed with terminal cancer, asked Pelosi if she was interested in running for the seat she had won when her husband died. Was Pelosi dedicated to serving? Was she prepared for the grueling hours, the nonstop pressures, the sacrifice of being 2,500 miles away from her family?

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Pelosi accepted the challenge and in 1987 she was elected to Congress after a bruising Democratic primary campaign against gay San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt whose backers tagged Pelosi as a political lightweight who had never held a real job.

The slender, dark-haired Pelosi appeared to some at first an odd choice, despite the fact she was a longtime party activist beginning in 1977 when she was Northern California chair of the state Democratic Party and came from a deeply rooted political family. Her father, Thomas D'Alesandro Jr., served five terms in the U.S. House and was later mayor of Baltimore. Her older brother, Thomas D'Alesandro III, also served as Baltimore's mayor.

She was, after all, rich and glamorous, seemingly a world apart from the working-class merchants, laborers, single parents and AIDS patients who lived in her district.

"She's one of those women who has had an interesting combination of careers and lifestyles – raising a family of five children and having a successful political career," said Michael Barone, author of *The Almanac of American Politics*. "One thinks of Katharine Graham or Madeleine Albright."

But Pelosi put any doubts to rest, emerging as one of Congress' most vocal advocates for workers' rights, women's rights, AIDS research and the poor. With one of the most liberal voting records in Congress, she has fought to increase funds for AIDS studies, improve human rights in China and transform the San Francisco Presidio from an Army base into a national park.

"She really believes in what she's doing," said Perry Plumart, a former press secretary and legislative assistant for Pelosi. "She really believes that having the privilege of serving in Congress allows her to give voice to people who don't have it and make this world a better place."

"What I like about it is it's a powe that I have to play and w

Few public detractors

Pelosi is also known for tackling tough issues and

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taking principled stands that don't necessarily benefit her politically.

"She's taken on some difficult issues," Barone said. "For instance, getting funding for the Presidio. Congress

> ...game
> ...on my own right."

didn't want to spend half the national park budget — or whatever it was — on one park. So getting financing was a tough one. She also took up the China issue a while ago even though it's not particularly advantageous for her...It's not necessarily one that would help her in her district since a lot of Asian Americans want (normalized trade relations) with China. And the district she represents has one of the highest concentrations of Asian-American voters of any district in the country. So she's taken a principled stand. She's raised the flag on the issue. Just about all of corporate America is on the other side."

During her early years in Congress, *The California Political Almanac* described Pelosi as "a wealthy housewife who long ago paid her dues licking envelopes and walking precincts in Democratic campaigns." It added, "Although new to Congress, she has been quickly learning the ropes and has been willing to take on the thankless chores that make friends and increase visibility."

Fast forward to 2000: Pelosi, who sits on the House Appropriations Committee, has moved faster politically than anyone ever expected. She is highly regarded, respected, considered a serious player. And what detractors or political enemies she has aren't willing to say anything openly against her. In fact, calls to about a dozen Republican House members, some of whom are on her list of political targets, went unreturned or provoked polite refusals to comment.

Only her Republican opponent for the 8th Congressional District, Adam Sparks, offered this assessment: Pelosi is no friend of small business or taxpayers and she advocates big government solutions for virtually every problem.

"I think Nancy Pelosi is out of touch with mainstream America, although she may fit in more with the liberal constituency of San Francisco," said Sparks, a real estate broker who admits his chances of beating Pelosi are virtually nil. (In 1998, she won with 86 percent of the vote.) "She has a liberal knee-jerk reaction to many issues and she's part of the San Francisco Mayor Willie] Brown/ [John] Burton political machine."

It's criticism that Pelosi supporters brush aside. "She's willing to do what it takes to bring people to the table, to work out compromise on policy differences," former staffer Plumart said. "She listens to what the other side has to say and figures out a compromise. An ideologue just wants to hear himself talk."

Looking back on her early years, Pelosi said she didn't hold high ambitions. "When I came I was strictly working on the issues," she said. "Issues drive my engine. When [former Representative] Vic Fazio (D-Sacramento) left, people said to me, 'Now you have to go for [whip].'"

Seated on a black leather sofa in her D.C. office, Pelosi leaned forward and took a huge bite out of a chocolate-nut brownie mid-sentence during a recent interview. An admitted chocoholic, she apologized for being unable to resist, then quickly got back to business, explaining how her campaign for whip unfolded.

The idea of running, she said, evolved last August during a series of conversations and dinners among supporters who pledged their help and urged her to make a play. "Once that ball got rolling, it became a sort of soft unfolding...of the campaign and it served me very well. First of all, I garnered a great deal of support," she said snapping her fingers. "Right away. And it froze the field (at three) so there was no room for someone else to get in."

Two other highly regarded Democratic contenders vying for the spot are Maryland U.S. Representative Steny Hoyer, chairman of the Democratic Steering Committee, and Georgia U.S. Representative John Lewis, a civil rights leader who long ago marched alongside Martin Luther King, Jr.

Pelosi is extremely upbeat about her chances. "I'm not putting out a number," she said. "But I think I have enough

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commitments within the caucus to win if the vote were today...I'm way ahead of anybody else."

But the election is months away. Democrats traditionally choose their party leaders after the November general election. Meanwhile, on a sunny, crisp Wednesday in April, Pelosi was focused on another, more immediate battle at hand: a looming vote on a bill to normalize trade relations with China.

Refuses to kow-tow

Pelosi, who first grabbed the national spotlight by highlighting human rights abuses by the Chinese government after the Tiananmen Square massacre, is a strong opponent of the measure. It is an issue that has put Pelosi at odds with many of her fellow Democrats, including President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore, and on the same side with ideological opposite Pat Buchanan.

Yet Pelosi has managed to keep her friends. "She's very, very strong and she's very intense about how she feels about things," said U.S. Representative Bob Matsui (D-Sacramento), who is leading the fight for the bill and who nevertheless has pledged to support her in the race for whip. "At the same time, she doesn't make it a personal fight. That's one of the reasons she has a lot of friends."

Speaking before a crowd of union workers at an April rally on Capitol Hill, Pelosi said that granting the Chinese government permanent normal trade relations would cost American jobs and obliterate any leverage the United States might have to force China to curb human rights abuses.

"This deal is a bad deal for the American economy," Pelosi told the crowd of protestors who waved a sea of blue and white banners. "They told us 11 years ago when we started this fight that if we kow-tow to every wish of the Chinese regime...that our trade advantage would increase and they would stop their human rights oppression...Here we are 11 years later...to prove that kow-towing to the Chinese leadership simply made matters worse."

Riling up the crowd, Pelosi directs them toward the halls of Congress to personally lobby their representatives. Minutes later, she was off to another committee hearing, then another, in a seemingly endless litany of engagements that makeup her typical workday.

These days Pelosi's star is shining brightly. Though she revels in her accomplishments, she is not content to sit still. She has her eyes on the greater prize.

"If I become whip, the first woman to become whip, I would consider that a great accomplishment whether I go any further or not," Pelosi said. "But it's no secret that whip is two seats away from the speakership and should that opportunity present itself in the normal course of events, I would not run from that fight." Indeed, those who know her say they are convinced she would gladly jump in.

Emelyn Rodriguez is senior editor of California Journal. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com**.

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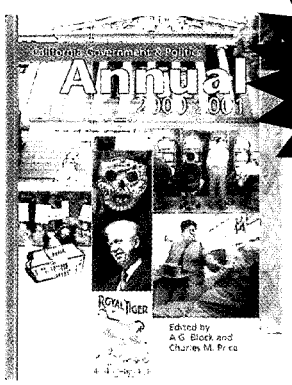

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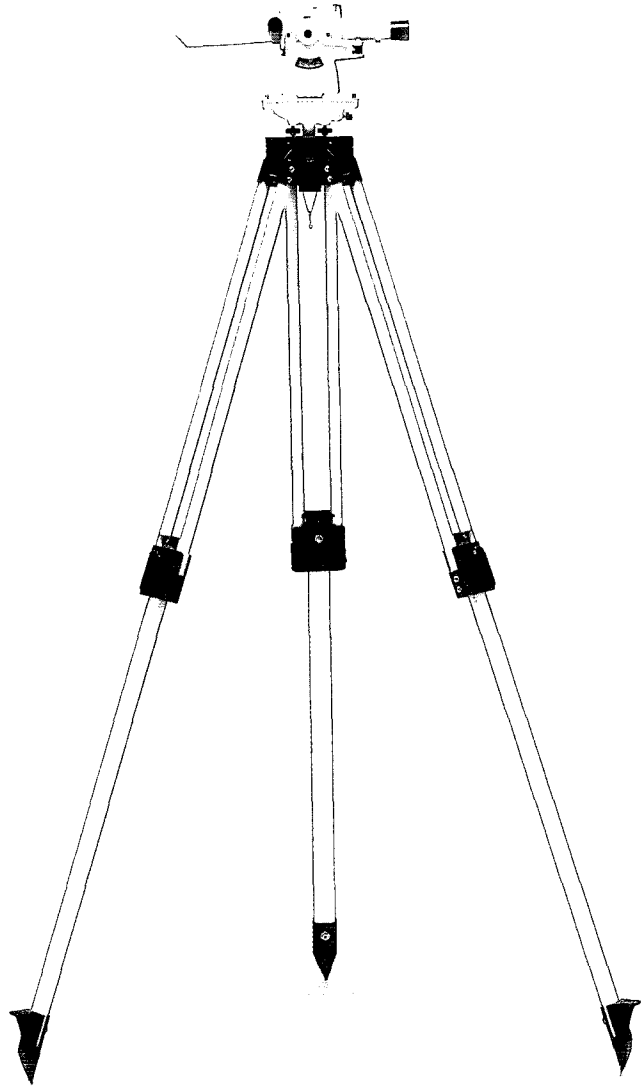

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letters

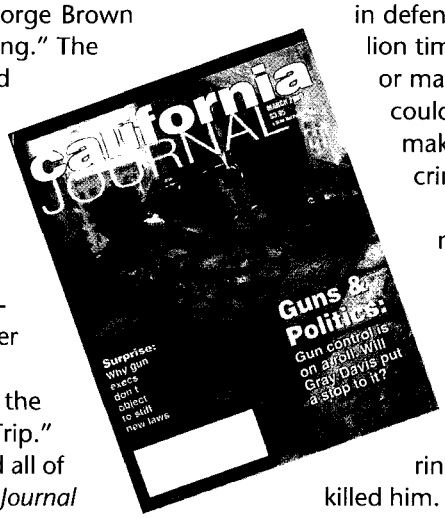
Defending the Inland Empire

As a longtime subscriber, I have always enjoyed the useful and timely analysis of the *California Journal*. I was surprised by several inaccuracies contained in February's brief article on the Inland Empire.

Rather than being "hammered" by California's recession, as the *Journal* asserts, the region's economy — particularly in its manufacturing, distribution and service sectors — has continued to expand. In fact, according to the California Employment Department, throughout the 1990s, there was no year in which the Inland Empire lost jobs. This was true of no other Southern California area.

The population currently is 3.1 million and estimated to grow to 3.7 million by the year 2005. The Inland Empire is likely to receive a new congressional district following the 2000 Census. This is far from a "sparsely populated region," as was stated in the article.

Your article describes our area as "firmly Republican, with a smattering of urban Democratic enclaves." The fact is, Riverside and San Bernardino counties have been represented by distinguished legislators from both major parties for the past quarter-century. I would hardly call the service of Bob Presley (currently Secretary of the Youth and Adult Correctional Agency) and Ruben Ayala in the California Senate or George Brown and Joe Baca in Congress a "smattering." The region's representation, by number and tradition, is bipartisan.



As for being "plagued by decay and high crime rates," the Inland Empire, like other California regions, continues to make significant progress in its fight against crime. In Riverside, serious crime has decreased by more than 45 percent over the last six years.

All of this mischaracterization of the Inland Empire to me suggests "Road Trip." On behalf of the City of Riverside and all of the wonderful folks mystified by the *Journal* coverage, I would like to invite you to visit us to learn about our community, its four colleges and universities and the Historic Mission Inn. Even a short stay will help you realize what we already know — that the Inland Empire's accessible location, pro-business attitude and excellent quality of life make it the fastest growing region in California.

Ronald O. Loveridge
Mayor, City of Riverside

Guns

Some interesting stories this month on Guns and Politics ("Guns & Politics: Gun Control is on a roll. Will Gray Davis put a stop to it?" March, 2000). You may want to consider doing a story at some point on the status of gun laws previously enacted by the state Legislature and the actual level of enforcement that takes place. I think most people in California still are not aware that private sales between individuals without a dealer doing a background check are and have been illegal in California for almost 10 years.

Jeff Witte
Clovis

Thanks to Max Vanzi for including comments from Steve Helsley in his articles on gun control fervor in Sacramento ("Where does gun control go next?" March, 2000). Two events close to me illustrate facts pertinent to the question of whether guns are useful for self-defense or whether the average person is more of a danger to his spouse and family.

When I was a boy, a neighbor woke in the middle of the night. He heard a burglar prying at a window screen. My neighbor retrieved his revolver and ran the burglar off. No one was injured, and the police were never notified. Gary Kleck and Marc Gertz made a survey a few years ago (in which)they estimated guns were used in defense this way about two million times a year. Outlawing guns or making them more expensive could disarm honest folk and make them more vulnerable to crime.

Some years later, a young man who grew up across the street from me got married. Later he was arrested for the murder of two men he had buried on family property. Seems they were part of a drug ring. Released on bail, his wife killed him. She married the remaining member of the drug ring while behind bars. If my contemporary was a murderer, he was among the 10 percent that do not have a felony record. As a victim he was among the 34 percent without a felony. Criminals have families who are far more likely to fall victim to violence than the families of honest gun owners.

Richard Kester
West Sacramento

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letters

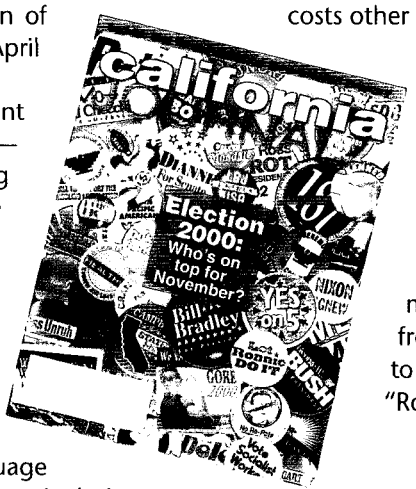
The name game

I saw your piece on Gore and Bush being the first in history to have regular English language dictionary names ("Upfront Umbrage," April, 2000). Hmm...seems I remember two fellows named Carter and Ford in 1976 – also both in my dictionary. Great issue though, as always. I particularly liked AG Block's tribute to Ken Maddy ("Remembering Ken Maddy: 1934-2000," April, 2000).

Dave Gordon
Sacramento

Congratulations on your 30th anniversary. I've been reading the *Journal* for the past 21 years and it keeps getting better and better. (I particularly appreciated the inclusion of the legislative district maps in your April 2000 election reviews.)

My favorite section is the Upfront Umbrage and I always turn to it first — its humor acts like Novocain, numbing one in preparation for reading the harder news in the rest of the issue.



My specific comment, though, has to do with the April 2000 "Did you know?" item. Actually, I believe 1976 was the first presidential election in history where both major-party nominees had last names that are actual English-language words. My American Heritage dictionary includes both "ford" (to cross a river or a place to cross a river) and "carter" (presumedly one who operates a cart). I acknowledge these terms are not as commonly used as "bush" and "gore" (or "pierce" and "grant" for that matter, but they didn't run against each other). Nonetheless, I'm sure you agree that media accuracy is essential in a free and democratic society.

Now, if you'll excuse me, I'm late for my morning electroshock therapy session.

Russ Leavitt
Hayward

Where school money goes

A letter to the editor about education in your March edition stated that we are spending about $8,000 per pupil and a typical classroom totals $200,000. Teachers' salaries with benefits cost about $50,000 so, therefore, $150,000 is not of direct benefit to students.

My mother married an accountant. He would say part of that is for the building, the heat, the electricity and the janitors. Every week the maintenance people trim or mow the grounds. There are school cooks, hall and lunchroom monitors to pay, along with the office help and don't forget the principal's and vice principal's salaries. A librarian?

A school nurse probably comes once a week, along with a reading specialist, a counselor and perhaps classroom aides. If windows are broken, keys are lost, the building needs painting, a leak fixed — it all adds up. That's where the money goes.

Phyllis Hagar, retired teacher
Citrus Heights

Why did you choose to print the letter from Carl Olson regarding education spending? ("Rostrum" March 2000) His argument is that money not spent directly on teachers in the classroom is a "vast sinkhole of tax dollars." It seems ridiculous that I have to write in to point out that there are costs other than teachers' salaries associated with education — minor things like maintaining the classrooms themselves, and providing the kids with supplies and equipment so they have the tools for learning.

And do you not get as many letters from women as from men, or do you just choose to print more from men? March's "Rostrum" raises that question.

Amalia Lorentz
Berkeley

Republican labels

Your contributor, Pacific Research Institute's Lance Izumi, writes in the March issue about Ronald Reagan "championing conservative social issues." Izumi should do more research. To be of assistance, I have forwarded material to him signed by or announced by Governor Reagan, which includes a letter from Reagan endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment and a news release issued upon his signing the then-most liberal abortion law in the United States. The letter states, "I am in full support of the Equal Rights Amendment and will be pleased if you are able to find a use for my name in attracting additional support. In the news release, Reagan said he was "fully sympathetic with attempts to liberalize the outdated abortion law now on the law books of California. I am confident that the people of California recognize that need and will support the humanitarian goals of the measure."

They indeed did — the number of children on welfare was reduced dramatically and Ronald Reagan ran for president as a welfare reformer. I know — I carried his "Welfare Reform" bill in 1972.

Bill Bagley
San Francisco

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Securing a legacy for L.A.'s mayor

by Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

Exactly 100 days before the Democrats convene their national convention in his city, Los Angeles' GOP Mayor Richard Riordan was photographed kissing "Odie," the donkey serving as the event's mascot. It was not for nothing. Riordan has a lot riding on the success of the convention.

When Riordan first ran for mayor in 1993, he hitched his "outsider" campaign to an initiative that limited L.A. local elected officials to two terms in office. Now, he has entered the final year of his second — and last — term at the city's helm.

Press, pundits, politicians and the mayor himself have begun to assess Riordan's legacy. Will it be framed by the image of a glistening political venue welcoming the world — a nostalgic replay of the glory of the 1984 Summer Olympics, which marked the apex of Mayor Tom Bradley's tenure? Or will it be stained by the fallout from the Rampart police corruption scandal — just as Bradley's legacy was tarnished by ethics and financial scandals?

> Riordan's legacy will be secured – or unraveled – by summer's end.

Riordan understands the stakes involved. "Our quality of life is at its highest," he told a town hall meeting in Los Angeles. "Crime is at its lowest and we enjoy a robust and dynamic economy. And yet, clouding this otherwise bright picture of Los Angeles is one of the worst instances of police corruption in the city's recent history."

Voters continue to think highly of Riordan; in an April *Los Angeles Times* poll, roughly 6 in 10 Angelenos indicated they approve his job as mayor. Despite that approval, however, nearly 6 in 10 Angelenos (59 percent) said "the next mayor should point the city in a new direction."

Among Riordan's major goals were to streamline — and strengthen the role of mayor in — city government and to right the dysfunctional city schools' system. He helped ignite charter reform, which was approved by LA voters in 1999. The new charter will take effect on July 1; it will slightly shift City Hall power to the mayor on fiscal and personnel matters.

The "proudest thing I've ever done in my life," Riordan said, was successfully backing a slate of "reform" candidates for the Los Angeles Unified School District board in last year's elections, dumping three incumbents and saving a fourth. The reconstituted board majority is moving to reshape the district; it has the responsibility for recruiting a new superintendent.

Charter and school reform, if successful, constitute a significant legacy. Both were viewed as helping to derail attempts to secede from Los Angeles. Nonetheless, secession drives are moving forward in the San Fernando Valley, Hollywood and San Pedro. And in the wake of Riordan's attempts to shift power to the mayor's office, his rocky relations with the City Council have grown even more rancorous.

In his first campaign, Riordan promised Angelenos a safer city and an enlarged police force; crime is down and the force greatly expanded – with support from a friendly Clinton administration. But critics insist that the LAPD's swift – some say unbridled – growth may have contributed to Rampart's woes. The pressure to beef up the ranks quickly, it is argued, resulted in inadequate screening and supervision. The mayor has also taken heat for L.A.'s failure to implement crucial policing reforms recommended by the Christopher Commission.

Much of Riordan's legacy will be an outgrowth of his push to develop L.A.'s economic potential. A booming economy has helped fuel major development. Among the projects now underway are a "Hollywood Renaissance," anchored by a permanent home for the Academy Awards, the Disney Concert Hall, the new Our Lady of the Angels Cathedral and the Alameda Corridor.

Revitalization of Los Angeles' downtown has been a cornerstone of the mayor's tenure. Just recently, the owners of the newly opened Staples Center arena proposed a project for a vast shopping, dining and theater area crowned by a massive four-star hotel. The proposal could add luster to the Riordan legacy, but its developer insists the project will require a taxpayer subsidy. And that portends a heated political debate.

The city has already begun to look past its lame-duck mayor for direction. Riordan's legacy will be secured — or unraveled — by summer's end.

Contributing editor Sherry Bebitch Jeffe teaches at the Claremont Graduate University. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com**.

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Speaker "Hugsberg"

Sacramento's answer to Leo Buscaglia finally has a firm hold on the Assembly's top job. But can Robert Hertzberg get his grasp around a historically fractious institution stocked with short-timers?

by Steve Scott

The contrast is evident as soon as a visitor enters the spacious Capitol office reserved for the speaker of the California Assembly.

The shutters covering a half-dozen or so two-story windows have been folded back, bathing the office in unaccustomed light. The Victorian drawing-room decor of high-backed chairs and couches has given way to the trappings of a working office. A large ornate desk has been replaced by one that is smaller, though no less impressive, and the bookshelves are stocked with rows of neatly organized three-ring binders.

Whirling through this more user-friendly environment is Robert Hertzberg, a doughy dervish who seems, at times, incapable of sitting still for long. Bouncing up at the slightest provocation, the hyperkinetic lawmaker proudly shows off his organizational flow charts the way a 9-year-old shows off

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Illustration by Sandra Hoover

his collection of Pokèmon cards. Even though the office — and the title that comes with it — had been his for only a week, the legislator's grasp of its working details was fully formed.

"I've always been this way," grinned the assemblyman when asked about his well-ordered ways. "Ever since I was a kid."

For Hertzberg, the path to the speakership he assumed in April seems as carefully planned as the office decor. The 45-year-old Democrat from the San Fernando Valley has been the speaker-in-waiting for most of the past

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two years since hitching his political star to the former speaker, Antonio Villaraigosa (D-Los Angeles).

But even Hertzberg could not have anticipated the unique place he occupies in the recent history of the California Legislature. Not only is he the first new speaker of the 21st century, Hertzberg is also the first speaker in two decades who never spent a day in an Assembly led by Willie Brown, the legendary "Ayatollah" of the Legislature. That accident of history, combined with his attention to detail and seemingly boundless enthusiasm for, well, everything, could make Hertzberg the first post-term-limit speaker to truly emerge from Willie Brown's shadow.

"I look for great things from Bob," said Henry Lozano, veteran Los Angeles congressional aide and longtime Hertzberg ally. "He's going to bring people together and I think we need that."

The tangible evidence of Hertzberg's reputation as a bridge builder was on display this past January when he was elected speaker by a voice vote, after glowing speeches from Republicans as well as Democrats. But the seeds for that reputation were sown early in the new speaker's political life.

Born in 1954, the native Angeleno's dinnertime colloquy often centered on weighty issues, thanks to a father who was a constitutional lawyer. But it was his grandmother who opened his eyes to politics when she took him to a 1973 Hubert Humphrey political rally. The next year, the 19-year-old University of Redlands student was tapped to be the campaign driver for Mervyn Dymally, then running for lieutenant governor. In that role, Hertzberg traveled to all 58 counties and hobnobbed with the likes of former Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh and U.S. Senator Alan Cranston.

"I was a fly on the wall ... with a good memory," recalls Hertzberg.

After the election, Hertzberg found himself on a well-worn track for Westside Democratic activists at the time, working within the powerful political organization of then-Assemblymembers Howard Berman and Henry Waxman. After law school, Hertzberg was drawn to the somewhat livelier politics of the heavily Latino East Los Angeles. Before long, the young lawyer was one of the ringleaders of what became known as "The

Making the grade at "Hertzberg U."

At the Assembly's boot camp for rookies, members learn the rules of legislative life, as meticulously detailed by Robert Hertzberg

By Kathleen Les

CAPITOL Institute by photos by Russell Steig

Last year when state Attorney General Bill Lockyer assumed his new statewide post, he liked to joke that his first month was spent learning how to find the bathroom. If his election had been to the Assembly, he would have had that detail wired long before he walked in the door.

In fact, he would have already known how to fill out the paperwork to receive his paycheck, how to introduce a bill and how to run his office like a well-oiled machine. Today, new Assembly members hit the road running, thanks to the handiwork of Speaker Robert Hertzberg.

Not so long ago, Hertzberg himself was a neophyte legislator craving every bit of information he could find about how to maneuver around the legislative halls. When he first crossed the Capitol steps a mere four years ago, new members were swept through a one-day quickie course at nearby California State University, Sacramento — mostly a meet-and-

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Group" — a loose collection of staffers, activists and would-be Eastside candidates. Numbering at various times between 15 and 20 members, the group's alums include Villaraigosa, Representative Xavier Becerra (D-Los Angeles), Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca, and Los Angeles City Councilman Mike Hernandez.

"Even though he was from the Westside and he was a non-Hispanic attorney, he was involved in the inner sanctum of the political activities on the Eastside," said Cynthia Telles, Hertzberg's wife and an influential leader in L.A.'s Latino community. "That was not easy to accomplish given that he was from across town and (from) a different culture."

Since most of the group's activities centered around fund raising and

Hertzberg confers with fellow legislators on the Assembly floor.

greet affair with no real substance. And it came *after* the legislative session had already begun. From there, the newly hatched lawmakers were on their own to figure out legislative procedures, staffing, and committee structure.

That worked fine when leaders like former Speaker Willie Brown ran a tight ship and could be counted on not only to dole out the perks, but to guide new members down the yellow brick road to wisdom and understanding of the lower house. But in today's term-limited era, when a third of the Assembly's membership turns over every two years and speakers come and go with the seasons, Hertzberg quickly surmised that the ship needed some ballast. Together with Republican Assemblyman Bill Leonard, Hertzberg set out to teach new members how to navigate the often unruly legislative waters before they descended on Sacramento.

Hertzberg lectures to a gathering of freshman lawmakers.

The first graduates in 1998 of what became known as "Hertzberg U," until formerly named the CAPITOL (California Assembly Program for Innovative Training and Orientation for Legislators) Institute, have Hertzberg to thank for schooling them on everything from legislative protocol to a typical day in the life of a politician. In what is now a formal course spanning eight days starting right after their November election, first-time Assembly members get a heads-up on a host of policy-making essentials. At what is a veritable legislative boot camp, new members from both sides of the aisle are put through the paces on everything from arcane rules, such as the number of days in advance of a hearing that a bill must be noticed, to role-playing in mock committee hearings.

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organizing for particular candidates and causes, Hertzberg was positioned to keep learning and building chits. "In at least three or four of those campaigns, he served as finance chair," said Lozano. When a quirk of timing made then-Senator David Roberti (D-Van Nuys) the first casualty of term limits in 1994, Hertzberg made discreet inquiries about running for Roberti's San Fernando Valley-based seat. Eventually deferring to seat-swapping veteran Herschel Rosenthal, Hertzberg resurfaced in 1996 to win the seat vacated by termed-out Assemblywoman Barbara Friedman (D-North Hollywood).

Hertzberg made an immediate impact upon his arrival in Sacramento when he got behind previously-defeated legislation to remove the ability of the Los Angeles City Council to veto any Valley secession vote. Though his stand was popular in his Valley-based district, the activism was risky for a rookie, putting him in conflict with the most powerful man in the Legislature, then-Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward).

But in the end, the bill made it into law and Hertzberg made an impression on his co-author, firebrand conservative Assemblyman Tom McClintock (R-Simi Valley).

"In all my years of politics, I've never encountered anyone who was so helpful, knowledgeable and cooperative," said McClintock.

Hertzberg was less successful brokering compromise on legislation to reform the State Bar, which oversees California's 130,000 lawyers, a failure he blamed on the intransigence of former Governor Pete Wilson. But by his second year, Hertzberg's identity in the Capitol was defined less by his policy profile than his close connection with his Sacramento roommate — and old "Group" mate — Villaraigosa, newly elected as speaker. Hertzberg was acknowledged as Villaraigosa's major domo and was his intermediary on issues ranging from health care reform to school bonds. Hertzberg helped convince skeptical Republicans that Villaraigosa was serious about lowering the partisan decibel level at the Capitol. He

Every detail of their training is contained between the covers of no fewer than 13 three-inch-thick training binders, given to each new member.

Hertzberg put together much of that training information himself, before he was even elected to the Assembly. Once he pulled together the information for his own use, he decided to share it.

"If you're so busy running around the hallways trying to figure out rule waivers, you can't get down to policy-making in some intelligent way," said Hertzberg. By giving new legislators a head start on the school rules, Hertzberg believes they can quickly join him in more serious policy considerations.

To know Hertzberg is to know this is just but one example of how the cogs work in his fastidious, organized and highly structured mental engine. Hertzberg is a detail guy who by his own admission cares more about "making the trains run on time, the 15 steps to getting a mental health program up and running, and member services" than making speeches and snaring media attention. He is just as likely to be concerned about what the Healthy Families insurance application form looks like as about expanding access to health care itself.

The CAPITOL Institute training manuals, which stand some four feet high when stacked toward the ceiling, are not the first such endeavor for Hertzberg. While sitting on a Los Angeles commission to improve productivity in the late 1970s, he assembled similar guides to help citizens and elected officials maneuver through Los Angeles city and county government procedures.

He's assembled a 20-page guide for his own office staff called "Making Our Office Work," that lays out his office philosophy. Hertzberg also compiles an end-of-the-year binder of his legislative accomplishments and sports what has to be the most extensive filing system of any legislator ever — a contact data base with 16,000 entries, a project log for intra-office communications, his personal files with more than 1,000 files on prior campaigns and political activities, chronological files of everything written and produced in the office and, perhaps most important, a set of reference binders on how to find what's in the other files. And it's all for the use of his staff who are encouraged, indeed, expected to make full use of these extensive compilations.

It's hard not to wonder what drives this mania for taking complex rules, regulations and bureaucratic detail and turning them into how-to manuals for armchair reading. "I have systems of organization, but it is not a be-all and end-all," said Hertzberg. "I want to create institutional memory. It's not about fiefdoms and egos, it's so people

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also helped the speaker's profile in Los Angeles, particularly in the wake of a nasty Senate primary between Democrats Richard Alarcon and Richard Katz, which stoked tension between L.A.'s Jewish and Latino communities.

The association with Villaraigosa made Hertzberg the default choice as speaker-in-waiting. But the relationship was strained last summer, as Hertzberg's own ambition appeared to get the better of him. As the ringleader of the Democrats' "Pro Business Caucus," he helped knock the pins out from under Villaraigosa's effort to boost the cap on medical malpractice awards. Worse, while Villaraigosa was in Israel during a legislative lull, Hertzberg's allies made an awkward first run at rounding up votes to succeed Villaraigosa as speaker. Though all involved insist it wasn't a coup attempt, insiders say the maneuvering temporarily tarnished Hertzberg's "good guy" reputation, and had an affect on the friendship between the two.

"I wouldn't be honest if I said it wasn't hard," Hertzberg conceded. "I don't think in the long term it's that big a deal."

Whatever lingering tension may exist between the two, it wasn't strong enough to keep Villaraigosa from backing Hertzberg as his successor when he formally announced in early January he was stepping down from the speakership to focus on his run for Los Angeles mayor. But the official backing came only after a deal was struck whereby Villaraigosa continued to hold the title of speaker until April.

Free to start lining up votes for real, Hertzberg made short work of a furtive challenge from fellow Valley Democrat Assemblyman Tony Cardenas (D-Sylmar). The formal vote in January was more like a coronation, highlighted by glowing testimonials from McClintock and Assembly Republican Leader Scott Baugh (R-Huntington Beach).

"I grieve as a Republican but rejoice as a Californian," said McClintock. "I have seen in Bob Hertzberg everything it will take to revive this institution."

can work together."

If knowledge is power, then Speaker Hertzberg has every intention of spreading that knowledge around. New legislators walk away from their training fully armed and ready for battle in the legislative arena. In one training manual, devoted solely to legislative procedures, Hertzberg shares the step-by-step process of bill-making using his own AB 856 to establish a statewide witness protection program as an example.

The volume contains no less than 52 tabbed sections — all individually approved by Hertzberg — detailing a month-by-month breakdown of the bill from creation to final adoption. Samples of letters from interested agencies, copies of the first draft and later amendments and examples of staff analysis are all included, along with explanations of how he prepared for his first committee hearing and how he worked with the bill's opposition.

After the first voluntary training sessions in 1998 garnered nearly 100 percent attendance, Hertzberg expanded his mission to include Capitol staffers. Since the mid-1990s, staff turnover in the Capitol has averaged nearly 40 percent a year, which means increasingly higher numbers of new staffers working with less experience and longevity. As a result, "Hertzberg U" now covers training for legislative chiefs of staff and district office personnel, who often come and go even more frequently than their Capitol counterparts.

Though legislators are trained in the nuts and bolts of passing legislation, that training is delivered with a healthy dose of reality.

"Don't fall in love with your own bill," then-freshman Assemblywoman Pat Bates (R-Laguna Niguel) remembers Assemblywoman Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica) advising in one of the many member-to-member small group discussions. While new members arrive in Sacramento eager to pass legislation to make good on campaign promises, it can take years before consensus is reached — something Bates says she and her fellow freshmen have reminded themselves of many times since taking office last year.

As an incoming legislator, Bates said, the training "inspires us to rise to the level of statesman."

Ultimately, perhaps the best benefit to the training sessions is the opportunity to make friends of fellow rookies. Building relationships is the key to passing successful legislation, notes Hertzberg, and is the best means of neutralizing partisan standoffs.

"I want to change the culture of this place," said Hertzberg.

And presumably he wants to ensure that his fellow lawmakers waste not one precious term-limited minute aimlessly wandering the hallways looking for the powder room.

Kathleen Les is an associate editor of California Journal. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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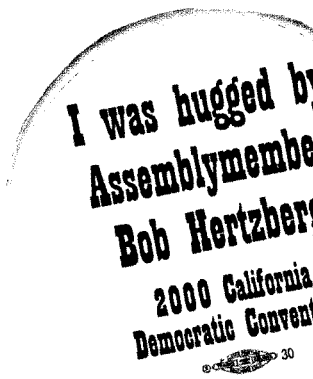
Among the qualities so lauded by McClintock is an apparently genuine commitment to bipartisanship, a commitment Hertzberg shares with his predecessor. Hertzberg's first official act as speaker was to rename one of the CAPITOL Institute's training rooms after GOP state Assemblyman Bill Leonard (R-Redlands). Baugh credits Hertzberg for fairness in his handling of GOP legislation during his tenure as chair of the Assembly Rules Committee, and Hertzberg has committed to continuing Villaraigosa's policy of letting the GOP name its own committee members and vice-chairs.

The contrasts between the Hertzberg and Villaraigosa eras will likely be seen more in style than in substance. While his predecessor was more instinctive in his leadership style, Hertzberg is infamous for his organization and attention to detail. "If I'd known what was coming," joked one aide, "I'd have bought stock in a company that makes three-ring binders." Hertzberg also maintains he's less interested in the higher-profile aspects of the job, preferring to stay behind the scenes.

"I turn down a lot of [speaking] invitations," he said. "I'm more the guy trying to make the trains run on time."

Hertzberg also differs from past speakers in that his closest political aide is, by most accounts, his wife, Cynthia Telles. A member of the psychiatry faculty at the UCLA School of Medicine, Telles has a long history of activism — political and otherwise — in Los Angeles, especially in the Latino community. The daughter of the first Latino mayor of San Antonio, Texas, Telles was courted as a possible congressional candidate herself in 1992 when then-Representative Ed Roybal suddenly retired. Earlier this year, Telles was appointed to a closely watched commission looking into the Los Angeles Police Department's scandal-plagued Rampart Division.



"She has a schedule that's technically busier than mine," Hertzberg said of his wife.

Telles says she does not plan to move her personal center of gravity away from Los Angeles, where the couple lives with three young sons from their previous marriages. But those who've watched them up close have compared their professional and political relationship to that of President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. "He listens very closely to her," said one lobbyist. "She's key."

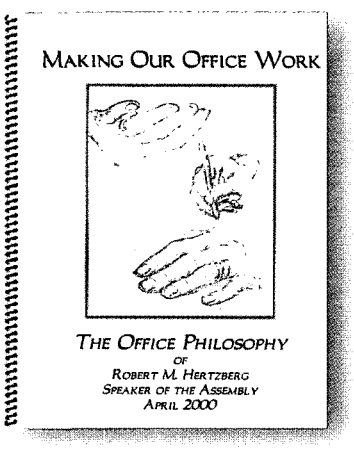
Perhaps the most obvious, and usually inescapable, contrast between Hertzberg and his predecessors is the hugging. From the time he arrived in Sacramento, Hertzberg was famous for bear-hugging all who came within arm's reach. Former Speaker Cruz Bustamante named him the chair of the "Hugging Caucus." Some colleagues referred to him as "The Anaconda," others as "Assemblyman Hugsberg." At a recent Democratic state convention, victims of Hertzberg's embrace were rewarded with a button that read: "I was hugged by Assemblymember Bob Hertzberg." The day of his formal induction as speaker, Hertzberg was so ebullient that he even embraced reporters covering a post-inauguration press conference.

Most in Sacramento say the hugging is just part of the speaker's up-

The Hertzberg Bible

"Making Our Office Work"

— The Office Philosophy of Robert M. Hertzberg "



It may be the only document of its kind in the Capitol. A master of detail, the new speaker doesn't leave any mysteries for his staff to unravel. In an 18-page spiral-bound treatise written for his office employees, Hertzberg lays out exactly what's expected on the job. Here's a few of those Hertzberg-isms:

- "Thank you for your willingness to serve in government. The hours are long, the pay is not what it should be and extraordinary challenges face us on a daily basis. Fortunately, I believe it is the reward of public service, in a large degree, which motivates us all."
- "Both the constituents in the district and the constituents throughout California are our customers."
- "An office which does not tolerate mistakes is an office which creates an environment of insecurity and blame."
- "I insist on organization because I want information to be accessible to all, not just available to the particular person who can find the lost sheet of paper under piles and piles on his or her desk."
- "Having fun and creating a positive atmosphere among all of us is extremely important to me, but at its foundation, everyone in the office must be highly competent — plain and simple."
- "Everyone in politics likes to be asked and likes to be thanked — that is the golden rule of politics and the golden rule of politics is very important in my office."

— Compiled by Kathleen Les

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beat nature, and it's all in good fun. But the practice is not without its detractors, including former Assemblywoman Diane Martinez (D-El Monte). In a 1997 *Los Angeles Times* profile, Martinez declared the practice "offensive."

"It's a full-body grab," Martinez groused.

Whatever his current colleagues may privately think of their leader's physical ebullience, all agree his embrace of the speakership has been every bit as enthusiastic. Hertzberg says he's already had dozens of conversations with Governor Gray Davis and has solid working relationships with Senate President pro Tempore John Burton (D-San Francisco) and newly elected Senate Minority Leader Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga). Both describe Hertzberg as professional in his conduct as a legislator.

As the new Assembly speaker, Hertzberg sees himself very much as a defender of his institution. In his induction speech, Hertzberg vowed to put new emphasis on the Legislature's oversight responsibilities, and proved the point by sanctioning a high-profile Assembly Insurance Committee hearing into allegations against Insurance Commissioner Chuck Quackenbush. Hertzberg also used his speech to deliver a backhanded dig at Davis and his much-reported suggestion that the Legislature's job was to "implement my vision."

"I'm really someone who wants to defend the honor of this institution and I'm going to do it," Hertzberg said. "I'm going to stand up for this house."

While he maintains he's a "member's speaker" and won't put his name on a lot of legislative initiatives, Hertzberg has identified improving community colleges as a personal policy priority. Hertzberg's political connections with the state's various ethnic communities also figure to place him in the thick of the looming reapportionment battle.

As for what lies ahead once his term as speaker — and as an Assemblyman — ends in 2002, Hertzberg is offering no hints. For the moment, he maintains he's content to build a legacy as speaker. Noting that two-thirds of those who have been Assembly speaker served for less than two years, Hertzberg maintains term limits is no excuse for any leader to aim too low.

"Society is moving faster [and] the institution's energy to move forward has changed," said Hertzberg. "I don't think anybody can argue that what has been produced by this Legislature in terms of important matters has shrunk because of term limits."

Hertzberg concedes his ability to keep up the legislative pace will define his success or failure as speaker. But whatever the final tally shows, chances are it'll be right there on the bookshelf of his next office, indexed and cross-referenced in a three-ring notebook.

Steve Scott is political editor of the California Journal. *Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.*

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Score One for Citizen Reilly

by Susan Rasky

The Justice Department's attempt to break up Microsoft is no doubt the more cosmically significant antitrust action. But here in the city Herb Caen liked to call "Baghdad by the Bay," the only antitrust case that matters is the one that will settle the fate of San Francisco's dueling dailies — the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner.*

In the last 11 months it has unfolded like grand opera, a tale of power, greed, ambition and revenge with plot twists to shame Puccini and a cast of most of the city's political establishment. The only folks who aren't enjoying it are the employees of the two papers. Their livelihoods and their professional reputations have been placed on the line by corporate managers with media agendas that don't have much to do with journalism.

At this writing, with the *Chronicle* case before U.S. District Judge Vaughn Walker, the final curtain would seem to be near. Then again, the third act could drag on a while. Little else in this convoluted saga has been predictable, including its most unlikely hero.

Little in this convoluted saga has been predictable, including its most unlikely hero.

That would be Clint Reilly, former political consultant, former mayoral candidate, current real estate mogul and longtime Willie Brown antagonist. Pugnacious, egomaniacal, self-serving, the very devil himself — Reilly's been called all of that at one time or another. He's the kind of guy people love to hate.

But without his suit to block the Hearst Corporation's purchase of the *Chronicle,* none of the sordid — and fascinating — details about that deal and Hearst's subsequent sale of the *Examiner* to San Francisco's politically powerful Fang family might ever have come to light. Reilly contends that the *Examiner* sale, which involves a $66 million subsidy to the Fangs, is a sham designed to ensure the demise of the afternoon paper and leave Hearst with an illegal monopoly over daily news in the city.

Reilly, by the way, attempted to buy the *Examiner* himself earlier this year, before the Fangs did. His critics say that he was using the suit as leverage to sweeten the deal. Whatever the motive, he is operating a very handy Web site (www.saveournews.com), complete with trial transcripts and exhibits, for folks who need a plot summary to keep track of all the players.

For *Examiner* journalists, the anguishing revelations involve trial testimony by *Examiner* publisher Timothy White about "horse trading" with Mayor Willie Brown. White testified that during a luncheon last August he offered the mayor favorable treatment in the paper if Brown would support Hearst's acquisition of the *Chronicle.* Brown was running for re-election at the time; Reilly was one of his opponents.

White gave similar testimony to the Justice Department last December where he indicated he had notified several Hearst executives about his talk with the mayor. White's superiors placed him on indefinite leave as a result of his trial testimony, which is to say many months after they knew of his deal with Brown.

There is no evidence that White ever actually leaned on his editorial board to go soft on the mayor, or that the news side of the paper ever compromised its tough coverage of Brown. But the *Examiner* did endorse him in both the primary and runoff.

As for the Fangs, they are big financial supporters of Mayor Brown and a major force in the city's large Chinese-American community. For months they waged a high profile campaign against the sale of the *Chronicle* to Hearst, only, as it turns out, to have been maneuvering behind the scenes, with help from Brown, to acquire the *Examiner.*

No wonder Herb Caen thought of Baghdad. Indeed, much of the wheeling and dealing around the *Chronicle* sale reflects the particularly incestuous political, social and business relationships that San Franciscans, including many journalists, secretly like about their city.

And nobody appreciates the thrill or the art of a deal better than Willie Lewis Brown Jr. The idea that he needed or cared about kinder treatment in the *Examiner* editorial pages is almost farcical. The real prize was the chance to do a big favor for his old buddies, the Fangs, to be part of The Deal, whatever it turned out to be.

That's probably not much comfort to the *Examiner* staff who've been left to repair the one newspaper asset their greedy superiors seemed happy to give away — credibility.

Contributing editor Susan Rasky teaches journalism at the University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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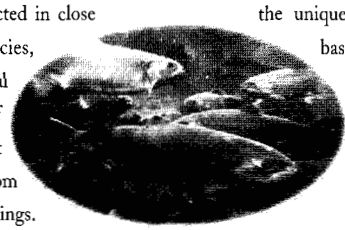

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The Essential California Journal Reading List

Feeling a bit underwhelmed by your knowledge of California political history? Unsure of where Jerry, Jesse and the Joads fit into our collective fabric?

Just in time for your summer reading, we present the "Essential California Journal Reading List," a roster of 22 tomes that offer insights into the political, economic and social climate of the Golden State. Compiled by California Journal editors and writers, the list is your invitation to delve more deeply into California's rich vein of past and present. From Mark Twain's Gold Rush vignettes to eye-opening biographies of California's modern political players, we believe these books convey the rich and varied history that is singularly Californian.

"California: The Great Exception"
By Carey McWilliams
1949 (Reprinted, University of California Press, 1999)

Writer, historian and leftist lawyer McWilliams examines the prodigious social, economic and political growth that characterized California in its first 100 years, from the heady Gold Rush era up to the 1950s. While lauding California's exceptionalism, McWilliams also takes an unvarnished look at the sometimes brutal manner in which we dealt with "the Indian problem," water issues and migrant labor.

"Southern California: An Island on the Land"
By Carey McWilliams
1946 (Reprinted 1973 by Peregrine Smith, Santa Barbara)

To understand what Southern California is today, one needs to know what it once was. This book tells that story by an author whose gaze is both lancing and laudatory.

"Roughing It"
By Mark Twain
Harpers, 1899

An unvarnished and humorous sketch pad of life during the Gold Rush by a Midwest immigrant who found fame and fortune in California, not with a miner's pan and placer but with a "pen warmed up in Hell." Together with the works of Bret Harte, Mark Twain's "Roughing It" provides an important window on the society that gave birth to California.

"Ronnie and Jesse"
By Lou Cannon
Doubleday, 1969

Ronald Reagan and Jesse Unruh were two of California's most important politicians. From 1966 to 1970, they

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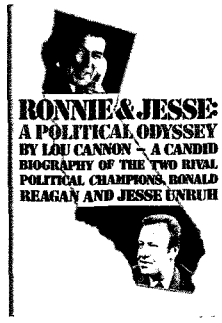
A sampling of photos & illustrations from our essentail reading list

alternately cooperated and slugged it out on a number of policy and political fronts. Veteran journalist Lou Cannon, then state bureau chief for the *San Jose Mercury-News*, creates a compelling portrait of Reagan and Unruh, published one year before the two collided in the 1970 gubernatorial race.


RONNIE & JESSE:
A POLITICAL ODYSSEY
BY LOU CANNON – A CANDID BIOGRAPHY OF THE TWO RIVAL POLITICAL CHAMPIONS, RONALD REAGAN AND JESSE UNRUH

"Cadillac Desert"

By Marc Reisner

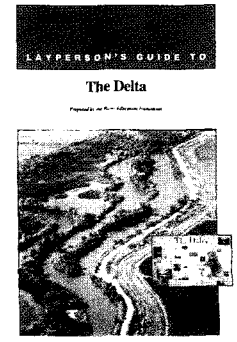
Penguin Books, 1986

The book that made the history of water development in the West an intriguing, page-turning read, Marc Reisner's seminal work is valuable for its California stories. There are fascinating accounts of the scandalous Owens Valley water grab, the development of the Central Valley Project, and the disastrous collapse of the Saint Francis Dam that killed hundreds near Los Angeles in 1928.

Layperson's Guide to Water

Water Education Foundation, 1998

Interested in the complicated world of California water issues but don't know where to start? Check here first. The Water Education Foundation, a nonprofit organization dedicated to objectively educating the public about pertinent water issues, offers an excellent series of brief but thoroughly detailed guides that provide the historical, policy and political context of 14 different water issues, including agricultural drainage, the Central Valley Project, the Delta, flood management, water conservation and water marketing.



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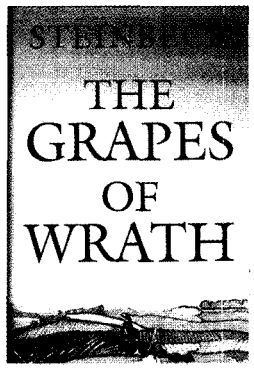
"The Grapes of Wrath"
By John Steinbeck
1939

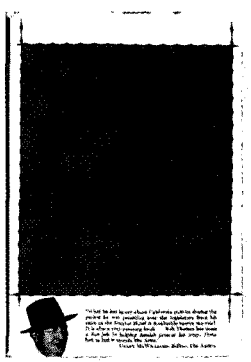


Journey with the Joads, a family driven off their ailing Oklahoma homestead and forced to travel west to the promised land of California — not to make a fortune, but simply to survive. In its now-classic portrayal of a tortured era in California — and the nation's — history, "The Grapes of Wrath" gave voice to those without one. Winner of the Pulitzer Prize in 1940.

"California in the New Millennium"
By Mark Baldassare
University of California Press, 2000

This book offers a precise crystal-ball forecast of California's future. Don't look down while reading it, or you'll become dizzy. Baldassare describes an oncoming period of change so rapid as to render today's California unrecognizable in coming decades. At the forefront of this change: a growing class of voters who act independently of either major party.

"The Secret Boss of California"
By Arthur H. Samish and Bob Thomas
Crown Publishers, 1971



No one wielded power like Artie Samish, the lobbyist king of California. From his suite in the Capitol's Senator Hotel, Samish could make or break any bill — and virtually any politician — in his sights. His legendary reign lasted nearly three decades until a tax evasion charge swept him from power in 1953. But his legacy — the strict curbs on lobbyists today — endures.

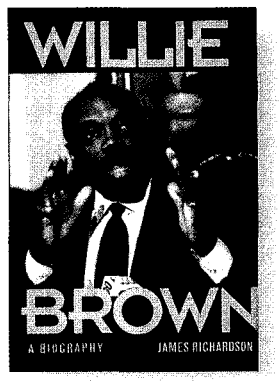
"The Day of the Locust"
By Nathaniel West
Random House, 1939

A classic portrait of 1930s Hollywood that reveals the seedy underside of the glamor capital of California. The Hollywood that West describes is not the home of glitzy stars but a world of "little people" whose lives reveal the sometimes corrupting influence of Tinseltown.

"The Campaign of the Century"
By Greg Mitchell
Random House, 1992

A scrupulously researched chronicle of the failed 1934 gubernatorial campaign of socialist writer Upton Sinclair. Virtually every major figure of mid-20th century California pops up in this saga of how Sinclair's "EPIC" (End Poverty in California) campaign was torpedoed by a conspiracy of Depression-era political and media elites.

"Willie Brown"
By James Richardson
University of California Press, 1996

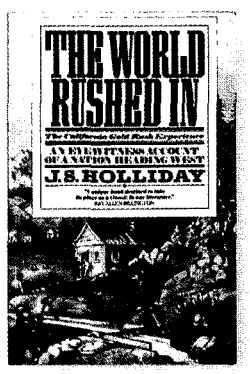


This is the first — and only — biography of one of modern California's most flamboyant and brilliant politicians. Willie Brown, now San Francisco's mayor, broke new ground as the first African American to become Assembly speaker but his political impact and instincts transcended race during the nearly 20 years that he dominated California's Legislature.

"The Octopus: A Story of California"
By Frank Norris
1901

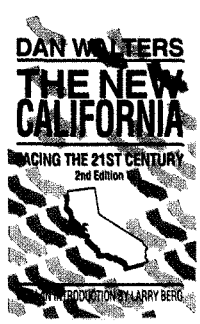
The saga of Southern Pacific Railroad's domination of 19th-century California is a melodramatic novel that still packs a wallop.

"The World Rushed In"
By J.S. Holliday
Touchstone/Simon and Schuster, 1981



William Swain was a pioneer — a '49er who came West to seek his fortune in the California gold fields. He also kept a detailed journal, which historian J.S. Holliday merged with letters and diaries written by Swain's contemporaries to re-create the birth of California. As such, it paints this spirited era in personal terms that extend beyond traditional notions of historical reporting.

"The New California: Facing the 21st Century"
By Dan Walters
California Journal Press, 1992



Love him or hate him, you have to credit the opinionated Dan Walters for his perseverance in covering the state Capitol for 25 years. That breadth of experience shines through in this book, which overlays demographic and socio-economic trends onto California's political landscape and dedicates a chapter to each of California's major news-making regions.

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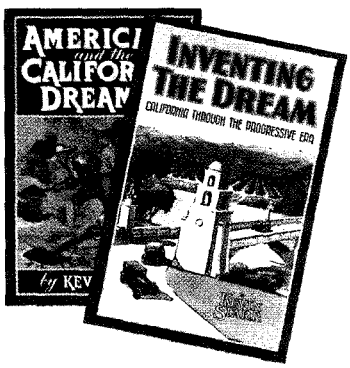
"Phantom Politics: Campaigning in California"
By Mary Ellen Leary
Public Affairs Press, 1977

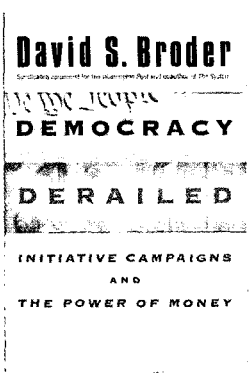
Jerry Brown became governor not because of his relationship with the public but as a result of his media savvy and mastery of mass communications. So concludes Leary in this examination of 1974's turning-point campaign that landed Brown in the governor's office and California on an unwavering path toward media-dominated campaigning. Then, as now, the public comes out the loser.

"California Dream" series
By Kevin Starr
Oxford University Press, 1973-1997



Dreams — of a new start, new possibilities, new freedoms — have long been an indelible part of California's social history. State Librarian Kevin Starr has chronicled those dreams in five impressively researched books that encompass California's history through its art, politics, literature, business, banking and agriculture. Starr's collection begins with "Americans and the California Dream" (1973) and continues through "The Dream Endures" (published 1997).

"Democracy Derailed: Initiative Campaigns and the Power of Money"
By David S. Broder
Harcourt Inc., 2000

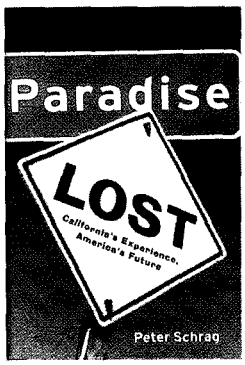


An incisive critique of California's most controversial contribution to the political lexicon — the ballot initiative. Broder's reporting is meticulous, exposing the multimillion-dollar initiative industry that "direct democracy" has wrought, and he does it without the patronizing dismissiveness adopted by most East Coast commentators.

"The Other California: The Great Central Valley in Life and Letters"
By Gerald Haslam
University of Nevada Press, 1990

In this collection of essays, Haslam, a Sonoma State University English professor, shows that John Steinbeck is not the Valley's only spokesman. Haslam, whose previous works have showcased some of the Central Valley's finest voices, encompasses in his own words the Valley's past and present, its dominant industries — agriculture and oil — and its diverse inhabitants, particularly migrant workers.

"Paradise Lost"
By Peter Schrag
University of California Press, 1999

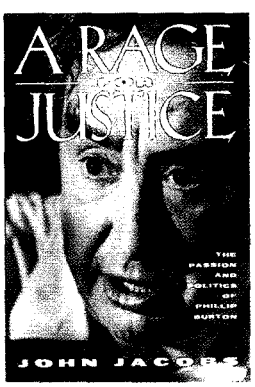


California's fall from grace as the nation's pre-eminent home to the best schools, universities, highways and parks has nowhere been better articulated. In chronicling the Proposition 13 era, Schrag insightfully weaves together political and social history in telling the story of California's "lost paradise."

"John Muir: His Life and Letters and Other Writings"
Edited by Terry Gifford
The Mountaineers, Seattle, 1996

By now, John Muir himself can be considered a precious natural resource of California — in spirit and deed, if not in body. This volume captures Muir's legacy with a collection of his letters, dispatches and essays — from the Sierra, Yosemite, Alaska, Scotland and beyond. Of special value are the writings of contemporaries who recollect the depth of of Muir's character.

"A Rage for Justice: The Passion and Politics of Phil Burton"
By John Jacobs
University of California Press, 1995



Phil Burton was one of the lions of California politics, from his first election to the Assembly in 1956 until his death in 1983. John Jacobs, political editor for McClatchy Newspapers, brings Burton vividly to life with a bold style and a reporter's attention to detail. Jacobs peers over the wall to give readers a glimpse of how Burton played hardball politics during his terms both in the Legislature and in Congress.

And now, let us hear from you

Like any list, the *Journal's* roster of essential reading is highly subjective. We invite comments on your favorites, the books that you'd recommend.

Please send these via e-mail to **edit@statenet.com** and include your name and hometown. We look forward to publishing your book picks in a future issue of *California Journal.*

— The Editors

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Off the shelf

Now that you've seen our "Essential List" of California reading, here's a sampling of personal favorites from our staffers. Their book selections run the gamut from fiction to factual but all encompass a special vision of what makes California unique.

A.G. Block, Editor-in-Chief, State Net:

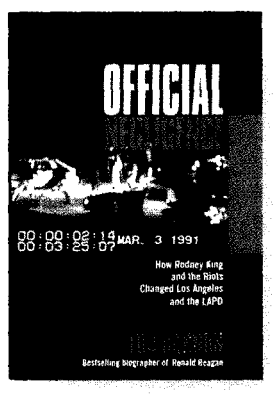
"Bordertown"
Text and drawings by Barry Gifford;
Photos by David Perry
Chronicle Books, 1998

There is a photograph near the end of "Bordertown" that speaks to me. It is a deceptively simple picture of a highway sign thumped into the ground next to a narrow ribbon of macadam road. The road itself is half obliterated by drifting sand. The sign reads, simply: "ROAD ENDS."

And so it does, in the mean, edgy border towns that form the portals between Mexico and the United States. Because so much of California's recent history has been shaped by immigration — especially, illegal immigration sluicing across the state's southern border — an admittedly impressionistic look at border towns provides a window into the world of those dreamers and risk-takers who nightly forge their way into California. These towns — most of them outside California or in Baja California — are the last refuge that is known, the last vestige of the familiar for an immigrant about to step off into the dark and unknown America. As such, they are points of danger, points of comfort, points of reference.

"Bordertown" is the work of two San Francisco Bay Area artists – novelist and screenwriter Barry Gifford and photographer David Perry. Their view helps us understand just what people will endure for a small piece of the California dream.

"Official Negligence: How Rodney King and the Riots Changed Los Angeles and the LAPD"
By Lou Cannon
Times Books/Random House, 1997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How Rodney King and the Riots Changed Los Angeles and the LAPD
Bestselling biographer of Ronald Reagan

The beating of Rodney King by Los Angeles police officers took place nearly a decade ago and produced one of the most recognizable snippets of videotape in California history. The subsequent trial and acquittal of the officers involved sparked five days of brutal riots that tore apart the city and shattered the reputation of its vaunted police force.

The King beating, the trial and its terrible aftermath form the core of this exhaustive study by former *Washington Post* reporter and columnist Lou Cannon, a *California Journal* contributing editor who has been associated with this magazine since its inception in 1970. But Cannon's monumental work is more than the

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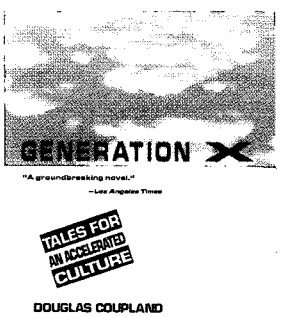
reporting of events and attitudes that led to a civil disturbance. It also is a detailed history of the Los Angeles Police Department from its days as a corrupt and lawless agency to its reform under Chief William Parker in the 1940s and '50s to its descent into institutional malaise under Chief Daryl Gates. In the end, the department virtually collapsed during the riots.

Although dealing with events a decade removed, Cannon's book remains relevant today as the LAPD staggers under the weight of yet another scandal, this time in its Rampart Division where officers are accused of fabricating evidence and framing citizens of East Los Angeles for crimes they did not commit.

Noel Brinkerhoff, Associate Editor:

"Generation X"
By Douglas Coupland
St. Martin's Press, 1991



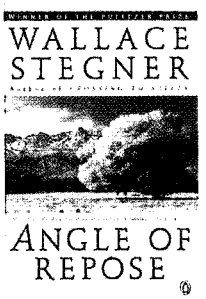
Right or wrong, Douglas Coupland's best-selling novel about three castaway friends in Palm Springs gave birth to the now infamous moniker slapped on those born between the mid-1960s and the late '70s: Generation X. Published during the last recession, before the dot-com frenzy sent the California economy into overdrive and made millionaires of many Xers, the book continues to have an entertaining relevance for those looking to understand the personality of this important age group. While many Xers today no doubt cast a much rosier hue on the future than Andy, Claire and Dag do in "Generation X," the book will forever capture the idiosyncratic perspectives of many Xers, particularly those stuck in low-paying, service-oriented "McJobs" outside the Internet boom.

"The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk"
By Randy Shilts
St. Martin's Press, 1982

As a biography, "The Mayor of Castro Street" thoroughly captures the life of the late San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk, who came to personify the gay rights movement of the 1970s. A New York-born Jew with strong Republican leanings in his early years, Milk underwent a complete transformation after arriving in California, becoming a no-holds-barred activist who galvanized gays and lesbians into demanding social acceptance and political representation rather than relying solely on San Francisco's liberal political establishment. The book also chronicles how the larger-than-life Milk transcended the gay agenda when it came to community issues and developed a broad appeal as a local political leader.

Claudia Buck, Managing Editor:

"Angle of Repose"
By Wallace Stegner
Penguin Books, 1971



One of the most compelling and poignant chroniclers of Western life, Stegner is a master of the written word. "Angle of Repose" opens in Grass Valley, near the now-closed Empire Mine, one of the many gold mines that lured treasure hunters and laced the state with underground webs of tunnels. On its surface, the book is the story of an earnest young mining engineer and his wife, an East Coast illustrator, who make their way in turn-of-the-century California and Colorado. Their grandson, the book's fictional narrator, says he doesn't want to go back in time to tell their story "but downward." Like a miner descending into layers of time, Stegner's story reveals the family roots that belong to all of us.

"Highway 99: A Literary Journey through California's Great Central Valley"
Edited by Stan Yogi
HeyDay Books, 1996

It's our Route 66. Running from Bakersfield to Redding, Highway 99 shoots straight through some of the richest agricultural land in the country. But this ribbon of road also has yielded a bumper crop of writers, whose works sprout from the pages of this anthology. William Saroyan from Fresno on the virtues of eating raisins. Richard Rodriquez on growing up Hispanic in 1950s Sacramento. Maxine Hong Kingston on childhood memories of her father's gambling house in Stockton's Chinatown. Together the 70 writers of Highway 99 paint a picture of a changing landscape, where oil derricks and prison yards bloom in once-desolate expanses, where John Muir's fields of "liquid gold" long ago disappeared under miles of suburban tracts. It's also a picture of people: field laborers, immigrant families, suburban kids living on small-town streets that "dwindle to land and weeds." This is a road trip that captures the essence of California's Central Valley.

Cynthia H. Craft, Editor:

"The Earth Is Our Mother: A Guide to the Indians of California, Their Locales and Historic Sites"
By Dolan H. Eargle, Jr.
Trees Company Press, 1986

Some years ago, the author moved to California, set about learning what he could about his new home and discovered he couldn't find a book with a good overview of the state's Native Americans. Hence this volume. Enough others are in agreement with the need for this book, and

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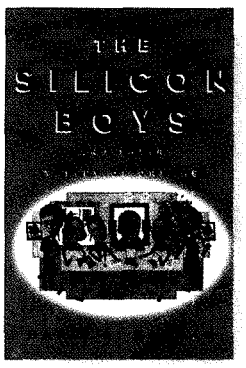
rightly so, that it is now in its eighth printing.

"The Silicon Boys and their Valley of Dreams"
By David A. Kaplan
Harper Collins, 1999



Silicon Valley upstages Hollywood in this sharp-tongued chronicle of the lifestyles of the cyber-rich and famous. Author David Kaplan, a *Newsweek* writer, burns a vivid picture of the "Valley of the Dollars" in the reader's mind — coloring it in Tinseltown's glitzy shades. Like stars and starlets at the right place at the right time, an estimated quarter-million "Siliconillionaires" rode the waves of excess wealth and ego that oozed from Netscape, Microsoft, Oracle, Apple, Yahoo and the other fabulously lucky high-tech firms in the swath between Stanford U. and San Francisco. Gawdy, giddily rich Silicon Valley even has its own version of Beverly Hills 90210: it's Woodside 94062, a moneyed enclave where the *public* elementary school's annual fund-raising auction nets $439,000. Kaplan delights in spilling details of this embarrassment of riches, telling of a parent's special trip to Africa to scoop up authentic props and decorations for the "Casablanca"-themed school auction. You'll delight in reading these details, even if they inevitably serve to nag those of us who were *not* in the right place at the right time.

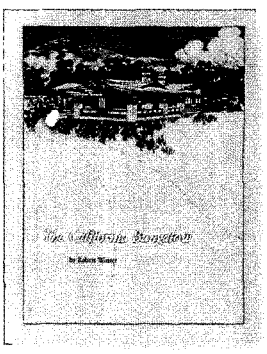
"Patty Reed's Doll"
by Frances Laurgaard
Tomato Enterprises, Davis, 1989

For our review of this children's book, read by virtually every California fourth-grader studying state history, we turned to Matt Wills, a 10-year-old student at John Ehrhardt Elementary in Elk Grove. He is the son of CJ Political Editor Steve Scott.

"Patty Reed's Doll" is a story of interest and excitement. This story is about the Donner Party and how they got to Sutter's Fort in California. As Patty's doll, Dolly, tells the story about the trip, everyone was really busy feeding the oxen and children, and deciding how much sleep they got and where they would head. The Donner Party made way through lots of deaths, forts, Indians, rivers, starvation, and other dangerous things. My favorite part of the story is when Milt (a helper with the Donner Party) dresses in a buckskin hunting suit. I giggled a little. The most serious part of this story is when they had to get through the Sierra Nevada Mountains. The saddest part is when lots of people died. This story made me feel sad, happy, and wondering what was going to happen. People who like California history or teach it would be very interested in this story about the Donner Party and how they traveled to California.

Kathleen Les, Associate Editor:

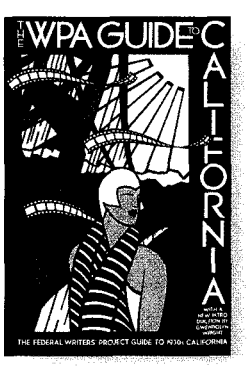
"The California Bungalow"
By Robert Winter
Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1980



Perhaps nothing in California culture better personifies the American Dream than the humble single-story California bungalows built between 1910 and 1925. For the growing middle class flocking to the West, the desire to own a home bathed in California sunshine still drives personal and political expectations today.

When Robert Winter wrote "The California Bungalow," nearly 70 years had passed since these architectural gems began their steady march along the streets of Los Angeles and throughout smaller towns around the state. Written in what now seems like the dark ages of publishing, the black-and-white photos pale in comparison to Winter's more recent coffee table treatise on the larger bungalow phenomena. But for those who want to read about the style and lifestyle that bungalows represented, check out this original still in print.

"The WPA Guide to California"
By The Federal Writers' Project
Pantheon Books, republished 1984



This may have been a make-work project for writers, but California got more than its money's worth when the Depression-era WPA program let loose starving writers to comb the Golden State and piece together its rich and varied history. Californians were handed a permanent snapshot of the state before the post-World War II era unleashed a period of massive growth and change. Replete with photos and detailed driving routes, the 700-page guide is packed with statistics, anecdotes and historical information that weave together the tapestry of California's past and present as it existed in 1939, the year the book was first published. California's industry, agricultural, arts, architecture and even its movies all have their own chapters, as do each of the state's 14 largest cities.

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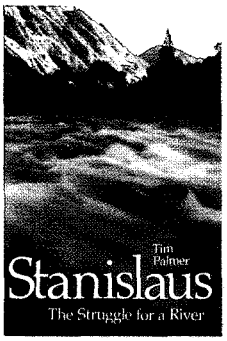
Farrah McDaid, Associate Editor:

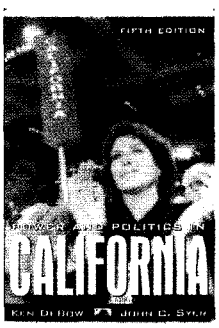
"Stanislaus: The Struggle for a River"
By Tim Palmer
University of California Press, 1982



The New Melones Dam, built in 1978 to harness the flow of the Stanislaus River, was the last major water project built in California. In this book, Palmer chronicles the political struggle between environmentalists trying to save the river and the state and federal agencies bent on building the dam.

Efforts by the fledgling Friends of the River take center stage as the group tries everything from lawsuits to direct action to prevent the dam. Despite losing the battle, the practices pioneered by Friends of the River during the New Melones controversy have become a model for environmental organizations struggling to save waterways the world over.

"Power and Politics in California"
By Ken Debow and John C. Syer
Allyn & Bacon, Needham Heights, MA, 1997

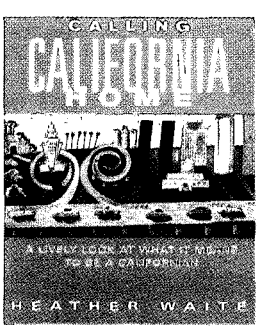


Debow and Syer, longtime government professors at California State University, Sacramento, have put their combined teaching experience and their proximity to the state Capitol to good use with this slim but informative guide to the Golden State's political structure.

Intended as a primer to the Byzantine politics of California, the book traces civic power from local politics on up, while weaving in discussions on such topics as diversity, the initiative process and capital punishment. It's a book worth making room for on anyone's California bookshelf.

Sekhar Padmanabhan, Assistant Editor:

"Calling California Home"
By Heather Waite
Wildcat Canyon Press, 1999



Yes, we Californians are big fans of the automobile and we love our endless sunshine. But Heather Waite, a UCLA substance abuse counselor, offers an even clearer picture of who we are.

From the Gold Rush to the IPO Rush, Waite offers quirky facts on the Golden State (there are 3,333 bakeries) and even a Californian Bill of Rights (No. 6: The right "To `telecommute' to work, especially if it's sunny."), at which we can laugh at a great inside joke — on ourselves. Her witty writing style and careful survey of our state's infancy, adolescence and adulthood is a quick, breezy lesson for folks who wonder why we're so weird.

"Sierra Crossing"
By Thomas Frederick Howard
University of California Press, 1998

As important as our roadways are in California, it's equally important to recognize how the first byways over the Sierra Nevada came to be. The early efforts to cross the mountain range are vividly recounted with imagery of such places as the Truckee Pass (covered by Interstate 80 today).

Howard recounts the exploits of the explorers and industrious entrepreneurs of the 1800s who established the first crossings, such as John Fremont and Jedediah Smith, as well as the competition among cities — and individuals — for the prosperity that road-building would bring. Howard retells how state and federal politics made breaching a seemingly impassable obstacle even tougher. His breadth of research, including newspaper accounts, diaries and letters, is a boon for anyone yearning to discover these events.

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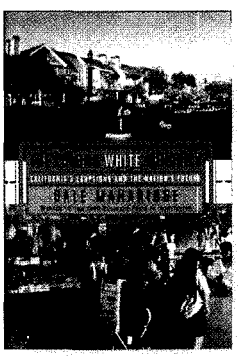
Emelyn Rodriguez, Senior Editor:

"1,500 California Place Names: Their Origin and Meaning"
by William Bright
University of California Press, 1998

A fascinating romp through California's rich and varied landscape, this book traces the origins of place names such as California, named after the mythical black queen Califia, and the town of Peanut, named by a postmaster who was fond of the snack.

The book also explores the tangled ancestry of many California names and delves into the heritage of the explorers, missionaries, Indians, settlers, and surveyors who took part in naming the state's cities, rivers, lakes and other geographical features.

"The Coming White Minority: California's Eruptions and the Nation's Future"
By Dale Maharidge
Random House, 1996



Pulitzer-prize winning journalist and Stanford professor Dale Maharidge studies race relations in California today through the prism of personal perspectives and the broader debates over immigration, affirmative action and Proposition 187. Those issues are explored from the viewpoint of four ethnically diverse Californians: a white community activist, a black deputy sheriff, a Latina legislator and a Chinese-American student at the University of California, Berkeley.

Maharidge weaves personal portraits with sweeping historical lessons, combining demographic facts while bringing to life the people behind the statistics.

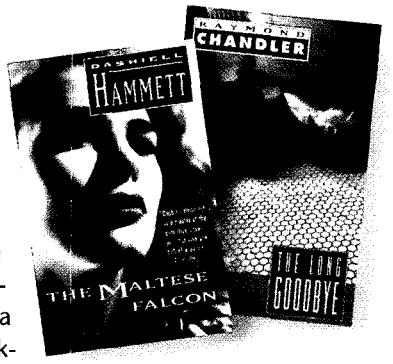
Steve Scott, Political Editor:

"The Maltese Falcon"
By Dashiell Hammett
1929
"The Long Goodbye"
By Raymond Chandler
1953

Who says California can't be hard-bitten? These two classic detective novels cast the gilded locales of San Francisco and Los Angeles against type, creating a gritty contrast to the state's sun-dappled image.

The San Francisco of Hammett's 1930 potboiler is hardly "Baghdad by the Bay." In this version, the trademark fog in "The City" epitomizes the broad band of gray that lay between the noble and the nefarious.

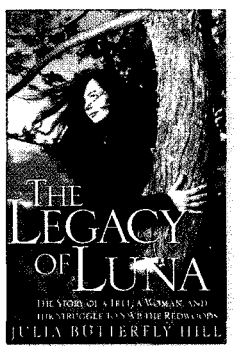
Chandler's post-World War II Los Angeles is even less



enticing — a smoggy sinkhole of cynicism where even the perfect climate is derided as being "too soft" to properly metabolize a morning belt. Each city has, in its own way, paid tribute to these less polished images. San Francisco has a plaque near Bush and Stockton streets that marks the spot where icy sociopath Brigid O'Shaughnessy shot lumpish detective Miles Archer in *The Maltese Falcon*. Hollywood's homage to Chandler was, arguably, an entire style of movie-making — *film noir*.

Melanie Smith, Associate Editor:

"The Legacy of Luna"
By Julia Butterfly Hill
Harper San Francisco, 2000



In December 1997, 23-year-old Julia Hill joined a group of environmentalists trying to spare from the axe a grove of Humboldt County ancient redwoods, near the embattled Headwaters Forest. Hill became the sole tree-sitter in an ancient redwood tree dubbed Luna, where she would remain for the next two years. Her trespasses halted logging operations by Pacific Lumber Company and even isolated her from other activists who wanted her down.

Although opposed to the eventual Headwaters Forest deal between state and federal officials and Pacific Lumber, she descended after achieving her goal of preserving Luna and a small surrounding grove of redwoods.

Some find Hill's effusiveness for Luna too New Age-y, but her story — from learning to survive in a redwood tree to her more recent experiences as an international celebrity and negotiator for the redwoods — is a remarkable chapter in California's environmental movement.

"The White Album"
by Joan Didion
Simon & Schuster, 1979

Drawn to the tiny details that can make the whole absurd, Didion captures in assorted essays the sometimes weird California of the '70s. In "Many Mansions," Didion contrasts the now-unoccupied Victorian governor's mansion at 16th and H streets with the stark, bland suburban "house that Ronald and Nancy Reagan built," which sat vacant while then-Governor Jerry Brown slept on a mattress in his $275-a-month downtown apartment. She notes the strange symbolism of two empty mansions and a mattress.

In evoking a time and place, Didion's prose remains relevant and even provocative decades later.

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Understanding Gray Davis

by Dana Wilkie

In the 17 months since Gray Davis first hauled his belongings into the California governor's office, the media have periodically reported on the man's tendency to be — we would like to put this mildly — an honest-to-God control nut.

Few in the administration dare burp in a reporter's direction without a Davis clearance. The poor press staff must clear every government release that touches on state policy. And because Davis insists on personally reviewing appointees to regulatory boards, he fell so behind on the task that consumer protection in the state nearly came to a standstill.

The more interesting story behind Davis' meddlesome and nit-picking executive style may be what compels the man to act this way.

Davis' excruciatingly careful approach to politics is fueled, his friends say, by two obsessions. One is his desperate need to succeed. The other is his desperate fear he might fail. The need and the fear, they say, took root long ago in the home of an alcoholic father who drank away all that was important in life.

Most research, it probably won't surprise you to learn, shows that the coping mechanisms adopted by children of alcoholics tend to have one thing in common:

Control.

Davis' dad was, like a lot of alcoholics, gregarious and outgoing — spending his money freely, promising things he didn't deliver and painting pictures of a grandiose life that never existed. In the alcoholic household, such parents can seem happy and outgoing one moment, then veer suddenly into a surly, mean mood during which they say cruel things and behave in cruel or irresponsible ways. Their children often take on the role of "parent," unclothing the alcoholic, cleaning up their vomit, nurturing younger children, and doing household chores. Davis, the oldest of five kids, may have played such a role.

When one reflects on the critiques that have dogged Davis for his 25-year political career, some of these other "coping" mechanisms may seem familiar:

Children of alcoholics often disengage, finding it hard to express emotions or form close friendships. They waffle on important choices. To handle the self-loathing instilled by the alcoholic parent, they can become demanding perfectionists. (Some psychologists believe President Clinton, whose stepfather was an alcoholic, is persistently adulterous because it is a common way to run from shame.)

Because it can be a frightening chaos for a child when a parent spins into uncontrollable rages or neglectful stupors, order and control become comforting. The child learns to avoid anything at all — dirty clothes, bad grades, loud giggling — that detonates the parent's emotional bombs. If they are "good," if they do everything "right," if they don't rock the boat, if there are no "surprises," then there are no unpleasant outbursts.

The coping mechanisms adopted by children of alcoholics tend to have one thing in common: Control.

David Stafford, a founding member of the National Association for Children of Alcoholics, has said that such children learn to base their own welfare on their ability to alter the behavior of others. They learn to take charge of situations where adults abdicate responsibility, not realizing that this behavior can backfire later in life.

Is it any wonder that Davis has such a starchy demeanor? That even his smiles can seem tight and cartoonish? That he labors under the belief, friends say, that people don't like him?

Davis has a habit of placing his palms close together, as if describing a tiny fish he caught. He cocks his head first this way, then that, searching for exactly the right word, the phrase, the fact or the analogy that will make his point in a manner that is precise and politic. In other words, in a way that does not offend or misstate or otherwise land him in trouble.

This is the gesture of a man now socking away unheard-of amounts of money for a re-election that's virtually assured. It's the mannerism of someone who fears that one loose word might mean bad publicity or losing a key policy goal. It's the habit of someone who overstudies, overprepares, and leaves nothing to chance.

Not that the governor gets a pass for clogging information channels and threatening consumer protection. But Davis' upbringing makes more understandable a pattern of behavior that sometimes seems draconian and irrational.

Contributing editor Dana Wilke is the Washington correspondent for the San Diego Union Tribune. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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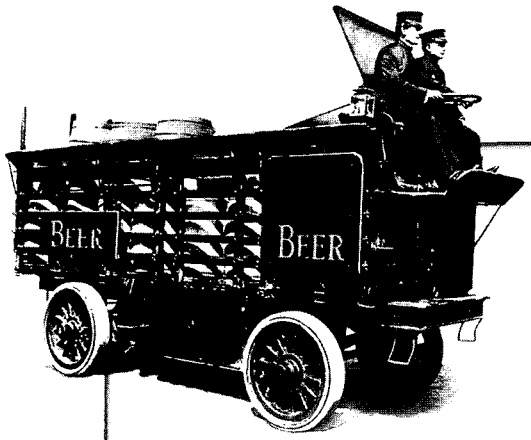

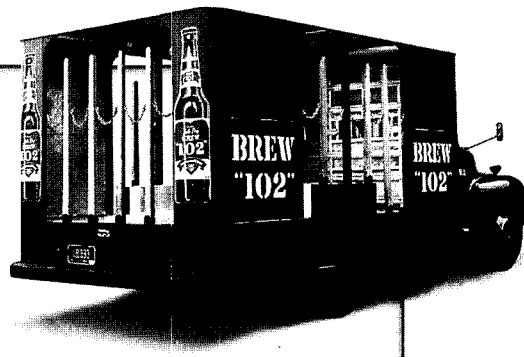

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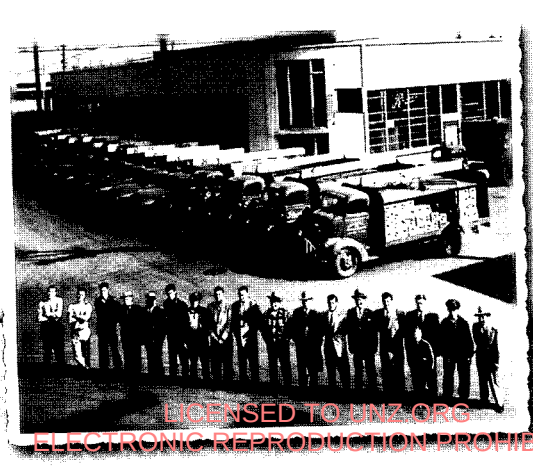

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